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12th Round of Geneva Chemical Weapons Talks Ends

LD2908144989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva, 29 Aug (TASS)—The 12th round of the Soviet- U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons, which are being conducted in addition to the multilateral talks or drawing up an international convention, have ended here.

The delegation continued an intensive search for mutually- acceptable solutions on a number of matters, relating both to the content of a future convention on the universal and complete banning of chemical weapons, and to bilateral measures for strengthening trust in connection with the convention's preparation.

The USSR and U.S. delegations completed the drawing up of joint proposals on the procedure for destroying chemical weapons and installations producing them, which are to be handed on to the multilateral talks, and sent them to their respective capitals for approval.

In addition, the dates of the next round of bilateral consultations will be agreed on.

U.S. Stand on Weapons Criticized

LD2908143789 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Another round of Soviet-American consultations over a chemical weapons ban has ended in Geneva. Viktor Glazunov has this comment:

The new round of Soviet-American consultations was useful. Another move forward has been made and yet the public wonders when the last step will finally taken both at consultations and at the many-sided talks in Geneva. We have been hearing for a long time that the preparation of the convention has gone far, that is, has practically been over, but still no end has been reached. The American side, however, favors a limited, selective control. It stands for the control of only state-run enterprises. It is against the control of privately-run enterprises where chemical weapons may be produced as well. So, in accordance with the American scheme, the control system will be all embracing in the socialist countries, where all enterprises of the chemical industry are run by the state. As for the capitalist countries, a considerable part of their enterprises will be left without that control since they are privately owned. This system is not only discriminatory, it actually leaves the loopholes for bypassing the convention.

Is there any way out of this situation? The positive stand in relation to the verification measures taken by the association of the producers of chemicals in the United States seems to be reassuring enough. The second stumbling block is binary weapons. The Americans launched the production of this new kind of chemical weapon only recently. The [words indistinct] is quite unclear. Now that the total elimination of chemical weapons is under review, the Americans began producing new kinds of weapons. What for? Is there any sense in spending money on what will be subjected to elimination in the near future? Or maybe the Americans are eager to postpone this time?

While the negotiations are on, more possessors of chemical weapons may come into being. Reports have already appeared about the agreement on a joint production of chemical weapons reached between Israel and South Africa. So time is running out. May we also add at this point that the Soviet Union has stopped the production of chemical weapons and is getting down to their elimination unilaterally.

Gerasimov Conducts 29 Aug News Briefing

Cites Paris Conference Problems

LD2908113989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The second round of the international conference on Cambodia has started in Paris. This is what [Gennadiy] Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information directorate, had to say on the matter at a briefing:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] About a month ago the conference opened at the level of foreign ministers. Their participation gave a proper jolt to the work of this international forum. A common realization was revealed on the need for a comprehensive solution to the Cambodia problem by political means. Working commissions were formed and an agreement was reached on sending a UN fact-finding mission to Cambodia. It has now fulfilled its task. The conference participants performed a huge volume of work in preparing drafts of the final documents on such important issues as setting up an international monitoring mechanism, averting civil war and the restoration of the genocidal regime in Cambodia, the return of refugees, the rehabilitation of the country, and international guarantees of its future status.

Unfortunately, there has been no agreement so far on a number of fundamental matters relating to a Cambodian settlement. These concern, above all, domestic aspects. In view of this, the adoption of decisions that would lead to the ultimate goal—a comprehensive settlement—is problematical. In our opinion, the constructive stance of the countries of Indochina have provided, and are still providing, a good opportunity to work out compromise solutions. By this we mean the decision to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Cambodia completely by 27 September, and the proposal put forward by the Cambodian state to set up in the transitional period a supreme ruling council, invested with very wide powers. Also [among the compromise solutions is] the reception by Phnom Penh of the UN fact-finding mission.

I should like here to note the great benefit that derives from the initiative of France, and from her effort toward achieving success at this conference. As we see it, the lack of accords on several issues does not provide grounds for a dramatization of the situation. It is difficult in a short time to reach a comprehensive solution that would suit everyone to a problem as complex as the Cambodian problem. At the same time, we are convinced that the draft documents and protocols drawn up in Paris provide a good and concrete foundation for the further search for a settlement of the situation around Cambodia.

In conclusion, I would like to voice the hope that the vigorous work on a Cambodian settlement will be continued. Here it is important that none of the parties let up on the pace and the efforts. As far as our country is concerned, we are ready for this. [end recording]

Criticizes Cheney Speech

LD2908134689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the of the USSR Foreign Affairs information directorate, has drawn attention to the reluctance of certain circles in the United States to come to terms with the new reality of the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, particularly in a key aspect—security matters. Speaking at a briefing here today, he drew this conclusion on the basis of the speech made in Las Vegas last week by U.S. secretary of defense Richard Cheney.

The secretary said, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman recalled, that the USSR is allegedly upgrading its strategic weapons, and that the arsenal of these weapons in the USSR has allegedly been improved in comparison with 1985. This speech also contained allusions to the USSR's disarmament initiatives not corresponding to the USSR's practical steps in this area.

Talking about the Soviet assessment of this speech, Gennadiy Gerasimov evaluated it as a traditional approach for the Pentagon chief, one which had been used repeatedly in order to intimidate the Congressional legislators and to push through Congress all the programs for modernizing U.S. strategic weapons construction.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman noted that the USSR, taking account of the realities of the present-day world, is taking measures to upgrade its military technology, and has made no secret of this fact. Moreover, he stressed, these measures are fully within the framework of the obligations undertaken by the USSR in the SALT II Treaty. Yet now the U.S. side is scorning this very important "restraint" on the arms race.

Discusses CPSU Statement on Baltics

LD2908135189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—In reply to questions from foreign correspondents on the procedure for adopting a CPSU Central Committee statement, Gennadiy Gerasimov reported the following at the briefing held here today:

"The statement concerning the situation in the Baltic region is a document of the CPSU Central Committee, and should therefore be taken precisely as such. Taking part in its work were all members of the Supreme Party leadership, the Politburo, and they supported this document. It has to be added that resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee are, by accepted practice, adopted either in the Politburo or the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, and are called documents of the CPSU Central Committee. As an example I can cite the published resolution "On certain questions relating to the restructuring of the Central Party press," adopted by the CPSU Central Committee. So the CPSU Central

Committee statement on the Baltic region also has to be seen by analogy with resolutions of this type."

Discusses Emigres, Solzhenitsyn

LD2908140489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—Not so long ago the Soviet Union was accused of not releasing those of its citizens who wanted to resettle in other countries, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing here today.

Now, he continued, the situation has changed. According to the Voice of America radio station, former Soviet citizens are holding a hunger strike in front of the U.S. consulate building in Rome, demanding to receive entry visas. While demanding that the Soviet gates should be opened wide for emigration the United States was not at all ready to open its own gates equally wide for immigration, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed.

Questions of emigration and immigration, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman continued, are the subject both of international and of national regulation, and as the human dimension of the Helsinki process develops, are to an increasing degree considered from the humanitarian point of view. One would hope that just such a point of view will be the decisive one for the U.S side too, in its resolution of the question of the immigration of individuals to the United States from the USSR. What is now evident is an attempt to regard them as refugees. But these individuals are not being persecuted on political or religious grounds, and do not fall within the definition of a refugee contained in the 1951 convention on the status of refugees.

Commenting on a report by Radio Canada that former Soviet citizen Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to restore his Soviet citizenship and to allow him to return to the Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov referred to an explanation received in the USSR Supreme Soviet department for matters of citizenship and pardon which stated that "such a request from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has not been received."

Notes USSR Efforts on Lebanon

LD2908161889 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—There is an urgent need to enlist international efforts to settle the Lebanese crisis, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

He said the Soviet side regards as the surest and most effective way of reaching this aim the resumption of the work of the Tripartite Committee formed by decision of an Arab summit conference in Casablanca. At the same time it is apparent that the Tripartite Committee must get constant and effective support from the international community. In this context the Soviet Union maintains contacts with all parties that can promote a Lebanese settlement.

The United Nations secretary-general can play an important role in the resumption of the mission of the Tripartite Committee, and the USSR urges him to take the most vigorous efforts in this respect, Gerasimov said.

Informing journalists of Soviet efforts to ensure a settlement of the Lebanese crisis, Gerasimov said the USSR intends to continue working in this direction.

Updates Afghanistan Situation

LD2908162289 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Afghan rebels have lost thousands of men in the almost six months that have passed since the opposition mounted an offensive on Jalalabad, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing here today, citing Afghan Defence Ministry figures.

He said the casualties included 200 foreign advisers, mostly nationals of Pakistan, the United States, France and several Arab countries, and 150 field commanders.

A total of some 19,000 rebels were wounded and 1,990 people, including 20 foreign advisers, were taken prisoner, Gerasimov added.

The rebels lost 4,856 weapons and 696 pieces of military equipment that were destroyed and 1,689 weapons and 296 pieces of military equipment that were seized by the Afghan Army.

Realising the futility of fighting their compatriots and the dependence of "Islamic parties" on external forces, armed groups totalling 15,000 men broke with the opposition. The government signed reconciliation protocols with many such groups.

Also during the six months, 4,000 civilians were killed or wounded in the rebel shellings of populated localities. Many of those killed were old people, women and children.

A total of 1,520 houses, more than 200 shops, 158 offices of state organisations, 32 mosques and 20 schools were ruined in different cities, with damage to the government topping 25 million Afghanis and to the private sector 15 million Afghanis.

News Briefing Summarized

LD2908165289 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The forthcoming official visit of Indonesian President Suharto to the Soviet Union is an important event, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today. He said a head of the Indonesian state last visited the Soviet Union a quarter of a century ago and announced that a lengthy interview by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will be published by IZVESTIYA tomorrow in connection with the Indonesian president's visit.

Dwelling on a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Romania held on August 26, the spokesman described it as an ordinary event in relations between two socialist countries. It is in the framework of the existing practice of traditional exchanges of visits, consultations and other forms of meetings between Warsaw Treaty member-countries. Replying to questions from reporters, he added that the question of Moldavia, a republic in the south-west of the USSR, did not crop up during the meeting.

Gerasimov emphasised the importance of enlisting international efforts to settle the Lebanese crisis. He said that the surest and most effective way of reaching this aim is the resumption of the work of the Tripartite Committee formed by decision of an Arab summit conference in Casablanca. Informing journalists of Soviet efforts to ensure a settlement of the Lebanese crisis, he said the Soviet side intends to continue working in this direction.

In connection with numerous questions from journalists about the procedure for taking statement at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Gerasimov said that the statement on the Baltic republics is a document of the Soviet Communist Party.

All members of the leadership of the Communist Party and Politburo took part in its elaboration and supported the document. He added that under the existing practice, statements of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee taken either [words indistinct] (?politburo) and at the Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and are (?called) documents of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted it seems clear that some in the United States are unwilling to accept the new reality of improvement of Soviet-American relations, particularly in matters of security. He made this conclusion from a speech that U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney made in Las Vagas last week.

Gerasimov said the U.S. defence secretary had stated that the USSR is upgrading its strategic armaments and that the Soviet arsenal of these armaments has improved since 1985. The defence secretary also hinted that Soviet initiatives on disarmament are not supported by practical steps.

Noting that the USSR, taking into consideration the realities of the world today, is upgrading combat equipment and makes no secret of this, Gerasimov said that these measures are in the framework of the obligations the USSR assumed under the Salt-2 Treaty. (?commenting) on a Radio Canada report that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has asked the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to restore his Soviet citizenship and permit him to return to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet parliament's department on citizenship and pardons has received no such request from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

'Observers Roundtable' on 1939 Pact, Near East

LD2708195389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 27 Aug 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program chaired by Gennadiy Vedenyapin with Igor Petrovich Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer, and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, All-Union Radio Foreign political commentator]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Taking part in our meeting today at the roundtable are Igor Petrovich Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer, and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, my colleague and foreign political commentator of the All-Union Radio. As you know, it is better to be on polite terms with history; the truth is well known. In the lessons of the past lie conclusions for the future too.

The 50th anniversary of the dramatic events, which preceded the beginning of WWII, is now taking place. The event of 23 August, 1939 takes its place alongside these events. On that day two German "Condor" aircraft landed at the central airport of Moscow and the German delegation, headed by Ribbentrop, foreign minister of the Third Reich, arrived. On that same night, after many hours of talks between him and the Soviet leaders, the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty was signed. And so half a century has passed since that time, but this event has by no means faded into the past, nor faded into the annals of history. It is still exercising our minds, all the more because the evaluations of this document are far from straightforward and are sometimes totally contradictory. There are different views about possible alternatives to the Soviet policy in August 1939. Many idle fantasies circulate on this subject. Nevertheless, let's try perhaps, if only briefly, to sort out what in fact actually happened, how the world seemed from Moscow in the storm-laden situation of those years.

[Belyayev] I think that it also makes sense to recall the events that preceded the treaty's conclusion.

[Pasko] It is evident that it is, above all, worth noting that the document which we are discussing and which has so disturbed the public worldwide and noticeably influenced European politics is frequently called the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. But does it deserve to be called a pact? It is, nevertheless, probably more correct to call this document just a treaty and not a pact. The substitution of words, you will agree, changes the essence of the document very appreciably in this case.

[Vedenyapin] Very likely it does. Let's return to the events of those years. 1939 can be described as a year of international political crisis. Let me recall that in September 1938 the well-known agreement between Germany, Italy, Britain, and France had been signed in Munich, by which a vital part of Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland, was given over to the Hitlerite Reich. In this way Britain and France hoped to satisfy the appetite of fascist Germany and appease Hitler. However, as is well known, the illusions on this account were quickly dispelled. Europe started rolling toward war. Only a system of collective security, based on an alliance, on an alliance between London, Paris, and Moscow, might have helped to avoid it in that situation. Nevertheless, talks on this subject toward the end of the summer of 1939 became more and more deadlocked. Between Britain and France, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other, there was observed a manifest crisis of confidence. The conviction grew in the Soviet leadership that the British and French governments wanted to expose our country to the attacks of the German armies, while not binding themselves by obligations to give specific assistance. At the same time in Moscow it became known that secret British-German talks were being elevated to a higher and higher level and taking on a more and more specific form. As 20 August approached, the situation had perhaps reached the critical point. And then on 19 August in Moscow it was finally decided to agree to the signing of the Soviet German nonaggression treaty. This action was a forced but necessary act in those circumstances, I think. It allowed the prospect of entering the war in extremely unfavorable circumstances to be avoided.

It gave the possibility, if only for a certain time, of averting a direct clash with fascist Germany, of preventing the creation of a united, anti-Soviet imperialist front, and of setting some sort of limit to the movement of fascism toward the East. Moscow was compelled to take a step that was of course unusual for its foreign policy and agree to conclude a treaty with the agressor. But it was already a matter of the very existence of the socialist state.

[Belyayev] Incidentally, by signing the treaty, the two sides were in essence guided by opposing values. Germany wanted war. This is obvious and requires no evidence. The Soviet Union wanted peace, and here I would like to agree with the opinion of (Korenricher), a professor at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. He thinks that for this very reason it is hardly right to put Hitler on the same level as Stalin, as the bourgeois mass media do and do so, as it were, without a twinge of conscience.

[Pasko] I think that this is a fair opinion, a fair judgment, let's put it like that, although undoubtedly it is necessary to recognize that this treaty had of course many negative aspects. It damaged the international prestige of our country, which was perceived in the world as the flagship of the struggle against fascism. Moreover, as later events showed, the Stalinist leadership, in signing this document, was acting in violation of the norms of socialist morals.

From a collection of German diplomatic documents published in the West, it appears that there also existed an additional secret protocol. It is true that its original has not been discovered, but its existence is considered to be established. Incidentally, the document is not disputed by Soviet historians, either. In this document the spheres of influence of Germany and the Soviet Union were demarcated; an exact line, which German troops did not have the right to cross, was established. This was a guarantee—in the form of a treaty—of the preservation of a line, which the German troops were not supposed to cross. All this allowed the USSR to push back its state frontiers in the West. This was of course necessary for the security of our state. It is difficult to argue with this.

[Pasko] That is so, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, but such formulations as the territorial and political reconstruction of regions which at that time were part of other states—I mean the Baltic countries, Poland, which had not been party to....

[Vedenyapin, interrupting]...those states that were not party to the treaty....

[Pasko, interrupting]...to the treaty, yes. This is what clearly contradicted the Leninist norms of foreign policy.

[Vedenyapin] Today some people are stating the issue in this way: the Soviet-German nonagression treaty and the accompanying secret accords should be deemed null and void. But it is another matter whether this is necessary. After all, from the beginning of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union all the Soviet-German agreements of 1939 to 1940 became invalid in accordance with international law. We, of course, condemn all illegal actions by Stalin and his entourage which were committed in implementing these treaties and the documents accompanying them. Today we reject and condemn the practice of resolving interstate questions by means of ultimatums and strong-arm pressure. The new political thinking is, of course, inconceivable without lofty principles of respect for the freedom and independence of peoples and their right to self-determination.

[Belyayev] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, I think that it is worth stressing one more circumstance. It concerns the fact that we and all the other parties involved, all the peoples of the world more or less, would like to know the whole truth about the situation in those years. To be honest, what is happening in London today draws my rapt attention.

[Vedenyapin] What do you mean?

[Belyayev] There, they are endlessly extending the period that documents concerning Hess's mission to Britain are kept from public access, a very specific mission, as is well known. German-British talks were conducted on what shape, as it were, the military situation should essentially take in the immediate future. And now that these documents are under wraps until the year 2017, it is entirely clear to me that neither my generation, nor even the next generation, will see these documents, and after all these documents...

[Vedenyapin, interrutping] It is evident that there is something to hide.

[Belyayev] It is evident that these documents might shed light on what they were scheming in London at the time with regard, as it were, to everything to do with the preparations for war with Hitler.

[Vedenyapin] I agree with you entirely. Let's continue our program. This week, as you know, it became known that the Mujahidin rejected the additional proposals by Afghan President Najibullah; proposals directed at stopping the bloodshed in this unfortunate country. The appearance of new U.S. weapons in the hands of the Mujahidin and the assurance made by U.S. Senator Pell, who was in Islamabad, with regard to continued support for the extremists, again—whether we like it or not, or rather naturally—brings our attention to the Afghan theme. Despite the Geneva agreements, the settlement of this crisis, the settlement of this problem, is manifestly being dragged out.

[Pasko] I have recently been in Afghanistan. The war in that country is continuing, although it should be said that it is of a distinctive sort. After the failure of the attacks on the cities, which began on 16 March and lasted 4 months, the irreconcilable opposition essentially switched to the tactics of terror: the rocketing and artillery bombardment of cities, the organization of sabotage and bomb attacks, the victims of which are the civilian population. An explantion was even devised for this: in an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency, one of the opposition leaders announced that these tactics were to force people to leave the cities, which could then be captured by the irreconcilables. The idea is, of course, nonsense, but I see the statement as an important one, because it provides documentary confirmation that the terror aimed at the civilian population was unleashed consciously. The government forces are trying their level best to protect people from the terror. In Kabul and Jalalabad a curfew comes into force as darkness falls; strict control have been imposed on entry into the cities; the government artillery shells the mountains, snuffing out the weapons emplacements of the mujahidin a soon as they are revealed, forcing them to keep moving about, and in short keeping them cowed.

To understand the situation, it should evidently be said that the government army and the civil defense forces not only repelled the 4-month long offensive by the opposition, but then went on to drive it back. Moreover, they drove it so far back that their rockets cannot reach the cities. For all intents and purposes, Jalalabad has been delivered from bombardment. The U.S. rockets that the Mujahidin have, with their range of 36 kilometers, are not capable of reaching Jalalabad. Judging by everything, there is a similar situation around Kabul. The Mujahidin are obliged to use portable rocket launchers for their attacks. These are set up surreptitiously under cover of darkness close to the city. There is not a solid line of defense in the mountains, merely guard posts and fortified positions that can be skirted. The timing mechanism is rigged up and the shelling commences. It goes without saying that such bombardments cannot be precise. That, of course, does not suit the mujahidin, and in literally the past few days there has been a report that they have received new rockets from the United States with a range of 60 kilometers. This gives them the chance to mount bombardments from farther away. I do not know how the Afghan Army will decide to respond to this, but it remains a fact that the cities' defense zones, the zones controlled by government forces, are increasing in size.

[Vedenyapin] The leaders of the irreconcilables claim to control almost 80 percent of the country's territory.

[Pasko] Well, I doubt that. Above all, it should be noted that there are different sorts of territory. There are bare, more or less uninhabited mountains and waterless deserts which, from high up—from an airplane for instance are seen to make up the bulk of the territory. But there are productive and densely populated valleys and towns. To date, the irreconcilables have been unable to capture a single town. On the 1st day of my visit, the head of the Afghan Foreign Ministry's press service, a man by the name of Amani, told me in great detail and with the benefit of a map about the situation in the country. As he put it, the government has no problems in the north and in the central regions, which border Iran. There are still difficulties in the east, which abuts Pakistan; but even there, things do not seem to be going the irreconcilables' way. Indeed, the very fact that a trip to Jalalabad was arranged testifies to this. Moreover, the trip was not for just 1 person: There was quite a large group of journalists, roughly 50, mostly from western countries. True, we were taken there and back during the night; the airplane flew witout lights; and other safety measures were taken, but that is only natural, because Jalalabad is a frontline town. But we were not stuck there, we travelled to the outskirts and visited the second line of defenses, at Samarkhel, some 40 kilometers from the border, where there was fighting just a month ago. We saw traces of the fighting; it was really bitter. But, everywhere, the authorities were absolutely confident that we were safe.

[Vedinyapin] Supporters of the irreconcilables in the United States believe that victory can be theirs if they are supplied with the weapons they need; supposedly they do not have enough and what they have is not sufficiently effective. Senator Pell, who is currently visiting Pakistan, does not rule out the possibility that tanks might even be supplied to the irreconcilables.

[Pasko] You know, the way I see it, it is the Americans' misfortune that they prefer to visit only the other side of the border. It would not hurt them to take a good look at what is occurring on this side of the border. Without a doubt, the Afghan Army does not enjoy an advantage over the forces of the irreconcilables. First and foremost, as I see it, this lies in the fact that it is a regular army. The second fundamentally important point is, I believe, that it enjoys the support of the population, because it defends the population against the terror of the so-called fighters for the faith. I believe that the past 6 months, following the return of our soldiers from Afghanistan, have substantially altered the Afghans' perceptions of who is who in the war. We had an interesting meeting in Jalalabad with the city elders. We were walking along the street when we came across some 70 or so venerable men, all dressed in white, who were returning from prayers. Of course, journalists could not pass up such a meeting and started questioning them.... Anyway, you should have heard what these people had to say about the irreconcilables. The curses they rained on them! They called them murderers and brigands. They demanded that we tell the world about what they are doing: around 1,000 houses and 54 mosques have been destroyed in the city. Cemeteries have been pounded by guns; we saw that. We saw the craters. Those people hold nothing sacred. A cannery that we visited had received 65 direct rocket hits—a military facility, one might say. In the surrounding area all the olive groves had been burned; power stations had been blown up. I believe that if the Americans were to see what we saw—if they saw what practical use was being made of their weapons—they would without doubt raise their lawmakers the issue of cutting off support, or at any rate military support, for the ireconcilables. I believe the Americans know only what those people who stand behind the irreconcilables tell them. At the very least, they would certainly start to wonder what the United States actually gains from these supplies; whether the United States might not be suffering as a result of them; however, suffering quite specifically. Here I have in mind drugs. There is evidence that the U.S. weapons for the irreconcilables and the drugs for the United States pass through the same hands in Pakistan. There is evidence of this.

But to return to the immediate problem of a settlement in Afghanistan, I would like to stress the following: as a precondition for ending the war, the leaders of the irreconcilables and their backers are demanding the removal of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. But the PDPA numbers 200,000 members and 5 million supporters. That is a third of the population of Afghanistan. There is one other point which would indicate that the irreconcilables' policy line is on the wane: Even now the 16 million people in Afghanistan have 15 million weapons pieces. One must possess a vivid imagination to think of trying to foist the will of others on somebody who is armed to the teeth! And in Afghanistan virtually everyone is armed. The only thing that can be done is to reach an agreement, which in fact is what the government is trying to do. The government line already has many supporters. For all their implacability, I believe that even the irreconcilables could find a common language with President Najibullah. Unquestionably, the main obstacle is external interference.

[Vedenyapin] Undoubtedly.

[Belyayev] Vladimir Georgiyevich, did you not get the feeling that the Americans—and by that I mean those who essentially command the interference and carry it out—have a far-reaching aim, which boils down to maintaining on our southern border a permanent—well, what should I say—area where military action would never die down? Just think of the Basmachestvo [historically, an anti-Soviet movement in Central Asia].

[Pasko] Yes. There is something of the sort. But what do they want? Do they really want to maintain a presence in our underbelly, so to speak? What is it going to cost them? To what extent would they gain from this? I mentioned drugs a moment ago. We have fresh reports that these drugs are finding their way to the United States, and they are coming specifically from the territory that is controlled by the irreconcilables.

[Belyayev] I have another thought to ponder: The Americans are supplying arms and technology to those selfsame irreconcilables. But they are doing so largely at the expense of Saudi Arabia. And, therefore, they don't count the cost. Therein lies the whole problem.

[Vedenyapin] In the light of current realities, I believe true progress cannot be achieved by means of any encroachment on the rights and freedoms either of individuals, or of a whole people. And in saying this, I have the Near East in mind.

[Belyayev] Events in that region have always attracted attention. And last month—I have in mind practically the whole of August and the end of July, too—was distinguished by the fact that very acute political passions, I would say, raged around the problem of hostages and around solving the Lebanese problem, one way or another, and the problems of the entire Near East, too. I would like to share with listeners a whole series of conclusions dictated, in one way or another, by the events that have taken place over the last 30 days.

Many people remember, perhaps, that on 27 July Israeli commandos captured a Lebanese religious leader who is the head of the Hizballah party, a pro-Iranian party, a party which, so to speak, appeared to have little to do with the hostages in Lebanon yet, however, was related in the most direct way with this business, so to speak. So, when this took place and when Tel Aviv started talking about the need to swap Shaykh 'Ubayd for three captured Israeli soldiers, the problem of hostages emerged of its own accord, because literally a day or 2 later Lieutenant-Colonel William Higgins, who had served earlier—or to be more precise, before he had been captured in February 1988—in the units of UN forces in Lebanon, was executed.

[Belyayev] Immediately, naturally, straight away, bigtime U.S. policy, so to speak, was brought into action, because in the United States each time a U.S. citizen is killed, both the President and his immediate entourage go into action. A military operation against Lebanon was mentioned right away. You remember, comrade listeners, that a powerful naval strike force was amassed immediately, in the Mediterranean Sea near the Lebanese coastline. It included the Coral Sea aircraft carrier, a battleship, and big cruisers. The first mention of the military operation was met in the United States almost with elation: Now, at last, we will take revenge, so to speak, on those who have kidnapped Americans; apart from Higgins, another eight American hostages plus eight West European hostages are still languishing there, and then justice will triumph. But the interesting thing is that President Bush did not at all condemn the terrorist action of Israel, which had captured Shaykh 'Ubayd, thereby initiating this series of events, and had used, in fact, the same terrorist methods, because a military action is the same terrorism but only employing more powerful means, so to speak.

Lieutenant Higgins died. The execution of yet another hostage was mentioned. And then the outline or profile of yet another action suddenly surfaced, an action linked, in my view, with the United States striving to return to Iran as soon as possible. The thing is that, indeed, Shaykh 'Ubayd is the religious leader of a pro-Iranian party, and there is a host of such pro-Iranian religious parties organizations, or groups in Lebanon. Of late, they have been cropping up like mushrooms after rain in that small country. And the most curious fact, perhaps, is that, finally, it all boils down to the following: It is absolutely clear now that the U.S. attempt to use the current situation with the hostages in Lebanon for starting contacts and then even talks with Iran has been used in Tehran, too. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani sent his brother from Tehran to Beirut to prevent the execution of yet another U.S. hostage, Cicippio, whom a pro-Iranian organization had promised to hang. By this, the Iranians led the Americans to believe that they would stop the terror against U.S. hostages if the Americans took into account Iran's corresponding wishes, and, specifically, unblocked the Iranian assets in U.S. banks which had been frozen as long ago as November 1979 in response to the capture of the U.S. Embassy personnel in Tehran on 4 November 1979. As you see, the picture is quite an intricate one.

[Pasko] And, nevertheless, everything falls into place in it.

[Belyayev] Yes, and its meaning is, however, that the Americans are using any means, including terror against international terrorism, so to speak—and this is something they are accusing Tehran of—having in mind this far-reaching goal, namely, the goal of returning to Iran.

Well, you know that we too are taking part in unblocking this grim case of the hostages. But in this instance we are struggling against international terrorism, against treating people—I mean foreign nationals—in such a manner and using all that as political means toward achieving a concrete end. And our efforts aimed, so to speak, at asking Syria, the Palestinians, and other Arab countries to help in solving the problem of hostages in Lebanon today are very noble. Moreover, our Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, at Baker's request, conveyed a corresponding message to Iranian leaders in Tehran, while on a working visit there. And then a signal came to Washington from Tehran that they were prepared for talks over there, that contacts had already been established, and that finally these talks would not be held in full until the self-same Iranian assets were released.

Bush said, however, that releasing the Iranian assets was out of the question, and literally 2 days ago, last Thursday, Hashemi-Rafsanjani made a very interesting statement. He said that from now on Iran would adhere to a friendly policy toward all the states in the world, excluding, perhaps, two or three, and that in this policy he would observe the provisions of the international law.

Well, it is difficult to say today what the situation in the Near East will be in the very near future. I would like to stress the main thing now. It is impossible to achieve any positive results using terrorist methods in the struggle against terrorism. That is why we have condemned Israel's action, and that is why we think that if the objective situation is such that we are helping the Americans to solve the problem of hostages today, and, consequently, are helping them establish the corresponding contacts with Iran, then we greatly hope that these actions, which are, by the way, the first joint Soviet-U.S. actions in an absolutely definite area in the Near East in the space of many years, will not harm our interests. I have in mind the Soviet Union's interests in this highly explosive region.

[Pasko] Igor Petrovich, I would like to mention the following in connection with what you have said. What has happened now in relation to the U.S. hostages in Lebanon once again brings up the issue of the need for a Near East settlement. Until the problem is solved, there are no guarantees that such an acute situation will not recur there.

[Belyayev] But look at last month's events. George Bush did not say a work in condemnation of the Israeli terrorist action. Over that month, George Bush did not take a single step to finally prompt the Israelis toward new approaches to a possible solution of the Near East's problems. And in this case, if we are to talk of a great goal in the Near East, then it is the convocation of an international conference on this region and the solution of all the vexed problems, including primarily, the Palestinian one.

[Vedenyapin] I am grateful to the participants in our program, my colleagues, for the interesting discussion. Thank you, our listeners, for your attention. Good bye comrades, and all the best to you.

Conference on WWII in West Berlin Ends

USSR Archives Policy Criticized

PM3008095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Korolev report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Open Wartime Archives"]

[Excerpts] An international conference dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II came to a close in West Berlin on 23 August. Some 100 major historians from the FRG, Britain, France, the United States, Japan, Italy, the Soviet Union, Israel, Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, and other countries have been conducting discussions at this representative forum. [passage omitted]

Discussing the policy of the Soviet Union in the prewar period, the conference participants noted that the repressions and the destruction of military cadres in the Soviet Union had negative consequences for the creation of an anti-Hitler front, because both Britain and France ceased to regard the Soviet Union as a real military force.

The conference also highlighted another problem. Virtually every country has opened up its archives to study that particular period of international relations. Our country was criticized in this respect, because many of its archives are still closed.

'Stalinist Diplomacy' Hit

PM3008092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference of Historians"]

[Excerpts] West Berlin, 24 Aug—The international conference of historians entitled "The Outbreak of World War II and the International System" has ended here. [passage omitted]

Soviet scientists made a critical assessment at the forum of the "Stalinist diplomacy" on the eve of World War II which damaged the USSR's international prestige. The signing of the nonaggression pact with fascist Germany, despite the Western powers' treacherous policy, was a blatant violation of the Leninist principles of Soviet foreign policy. The only reliable barrier to a repetition of the mistakes of the past would be strict parliamentary and democratic controls over governments' foreign policies and diplomatic actions, they noted.

As was stressed at a news conference at the end of the conference, the open and committed discussion by scholars from different countries on one of the controversial problems of prewar history attests to a "new level of glasnost" in East-West relations.

Papal Message on WWII Jubilee Cited

PM3008123789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Papal Message"]

[Text] Rome, 28 Aug—The head of the Roman Catholic Church John Paul II has addressed an apostolic message "To governments and to all people of good will" on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II.

"Between 1 September 1939 and the end of summer 1945 millions of people fell victim to one of the most destructive and inhuman tragedies in our history," the message says.

What is the main lesson, according to the pope, that should be learned from the past? "Acts of tyranny which divide nations, the resettlement of peoples, unlimited rearmament, uncontrolled use of modern arms, the violation of the basic rights of man and peoples, nonobservance of the norms of international conduct, and the imposition of totalitarian ideologies—all this can only lead to the destruction of mankind."

John Paul II recalls, partly on the basis of his own experience of living in Poland under the Hitlerite occupation, the mass extermination of people, poverty, and infinite material destruction. He points out that the racist Nazi ideology in particular must be condemned, and appeals for "struggle against all forms of racism and for the recognition of every individual's human dignity."

Condemning the rejection of belief in God which had spread "in some sectors of European culture long before 1939," the pope could not resist the temptation of putting "Nazi heathenism" on the same level with "Marxist dogma" as "totalitarian ideologies tending to become a substitute religion."

"There can be no peace if the rights of all peoples, particularly the most vulnerable, are not respected," the message goes on to say. "The entire edifice of international law rests on the principle of equal respect for states, and on the right of any people to self-determination and free collaboration in the name of the highest common good of mankind."

"Disarmament is one of the basic conditions enabling people to live together," the document notes. State leaders should "do their utmost and develop without delay the processes of cooperation, verification, and disarmament which would make war impossible." The Catholic Church welcomes the current talks on nuclear and conventional disarmament and on banning chemical weapons. "The Holy See has several times supported the idea that the sides should achieve a possible lower level of armament necessary for ensuring states' security and defense." The success of disarmament, however, can only be guaranteed if it is accompanied by a development in cooperation in the economic and cultural spheres.

Today, John Paul II writes in conclusion, Europe is trying to acquire a new image. Positive changes are taking place in a number of countries in Central and East Europe. State leaders are increasingly cooperating with each other to solve the serious problems facing mankind. "Yesterday, the European Continent exported war. Today it must become the 'peacemaker.'"

United States & Canada

Bush Remarks on Poland, Baltic 'Inappropriate'

LD2908174589 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Agency reports say that President Bush has called on President Gorbachev to show the same understanding regarding the demands for political changes by the Baltic states as he showed regarding the reforms in Poland. Here is our comment:

The U.S. Administration can, of course, put its own interpretation on events in Poland, the USSR or anywhere else; but when the head of that administration gives advice to the head of another state, the laws of international policy and ethics of relations between states based on mutual noninterference (?come into force). So, in the light of those laws, it is inappropriate and unethical to give marks to the Soviet president for his attitude toward Poland, let alone to suggest what he ought to do in solving the regional problems in his own country.

It is not the first time that we have heard a U.S. President make various statements regarding the Soviet Baltic countries and although this last example is the most low-key in form, all this conceals U.S. policy which has been clearly-proclaimed this year and on occasions already confirmed which is based on nonrecognition of the membership of the Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—in the USSR. What's more, every year in the United States the so-called Oppressed Countries' Week is organized; this is by no means friendly to the USSR and the above-mentioned Baltic republics. It is an interference in the affairs of the USSR.

Profound political, democratic, social and economic transformations are taking place in the USSR under the name of perestroyka. We are glad that this perestroyka is accepted and supported by the democratic forces of the whole world. However, it is a process of internal development, complicated and painful, especially in the sphere of nationality relations. Therefore, it is doubtful whether outside advice regarding the solution of those problems is needed.

Kornilov Shuns State Department's Baltic Stance

LD2908130189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1214 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—Tass political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The situation that has arisen in the republics of the Soviet Baltic is currently being commented upon in a restrained manner in the official circles of Western countries. Sober-minded politicians are aware that the matter in question is the purely internal affair of the Soviet Union, and any interference from outside will be viewed as an indirect or direct encouragement to separatism and extremism. Against this background, the statement by a U.S. State Department representative has sounded a certain discord. Commenting on the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the republics of the Soviet Baltic, he stated that the United States "does not recognize the inclusion of the Baltic republics in the USSR".

The position, let us be blunt, is not new. The State Department has been returning to this postulate for 10 years and, although repetition is the mother of learning, it cannot, nevertheless, change the existing realities. And in particular, those realities which are clearly laid down in the Helsinki Final Act, where emphasis is laid on the need to observe the inviolability of the post-war European borders, and the states participating in the Helsinki forum (including the United States) are pledged to renounce any attempts and on any pretext to interfere in other people's affairs. It is precisely on rigorous observance of these key principles that peace in Europe is maintained. And one can only regret that the U.S. State Department representative, yielding to the temptation to circulate yet again an old propaganda cliche, has forgotten this truth.

Air Force General Comments on 'Stealth' Bomber

LD2908145689 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] There has been a trial test of the U.S.-built Stealth bomber. The aircraft, said to be invisible to radar, is designed to hit Soviet long-range missiles. The defense Department's program of building a new generation of bomber aircraft has evoked growing criticism in Congress because of its high cost. Should the Pentagon get what it wants from Congress, will the Soviet Union embark on a similar project? General Valentin Pankin of the Soviet Air Force General Staff doesn't think it will.

[Begin Pankin recording on Russian fading into English translation] The development of the Stealth bomber aircraft is an indicator of America's major achievements in science and technology and its extensive production base. However, the question is whether the fabulous production cost is worth the effort. At a time when disarmament is slowly gaining ground it would seem that the rivalry in developing weapons to deter each other should better go.

Although the development of Stealth bombers would raise a number of problems to Soviet air defenses, they are not insoluble. So B-2 aircraft is not an ultimate weapon. As the Soviet military doctrine is based on the principle of defense sufficiency, I don't see why this country should develop a similar aircraft, but if need be its economic and scientific potential is good enough to develop an aircraft based on similar technologies. [end recording]

Sam Nunn's Influence on U.S. Policy Viewed

*PM2908111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Political Portrait. Sam Nunn's Fortune"]

[Excerpts] Washington, August—[Passage omitted] The words "intelligent," "boring," and "very powerful" invariably accompany the descriptions of Senator Nunn given by people who know what's what on the Potomac. The chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, a Democrat from Georgia, does not make an outward display of his emotions but he is clearly flattered by the fact that his opinions are deemed to be virtually irrefutable. It is no laughing matter to say that people in Washington are increasingly well aware that effectively no major decision on questions of national security, which naturally includes arms control and the stabilization of Soviet-U.S. relations, is made without the senator's approval. [Passage omitted].

Since the very outset of his Washington career Nunn has tried to cultivate the impression that he is a "bipartisan" figure, above Republican-Democrat divisions. As a result the Democratic Party steadily "moves toward Nunn" while the Republicans describe him as a "lovable Democrat." It is considered an axiom on the Potomac that this senator can lead both the former and a considerable majority of the latter on virtually any question of military policy. Incidentally, he frequently demonstrated this under president R. Reagan, who saw Nunn as one of his most powerful supporters among the Democrats in the Senate. Although Nunn had more than enough clashes with the administration, they mainly concerned specific arms systems rather than overall military-political or foreign policy views, which coincided with increasing frequency, fitting in to the conservative pro-Pentagon niche.

...Two months ago a U.S. journalist friend of mine dropped a phrase in conversation which has stuck in my memory: "He sometimes needs to sniff the flowers to check if they're real." The journalist was referring to Robert Gates, the former CIA "No 2" who is now the main Sovietologist in G. Bush's administration—the president's deputy national security assistant. In one of his speeches, R. Gates, explaining his mistrust of Soviet reform, said the following: "When an intelligence officer smells flowers, he looks for a coffin."

That is how Sam Nunn also perceives Soviet policy and our transformations. The senator "seeks the coffin" without fail in all Soviet disarmament initiatives, in the changes in Soviet military doctrine, and in our country's transition to radical reforms in various spheres of life.

Like all conservatives, he applauded the administration's intention "not to make haste" in relations with Moscow and in building up the foundation in Soviet-U.S. relations inherited from R. Reagan.

In view of S. Nunn's sentiments, I believe that it is appropriate to recall that the votes of just 34 senators can put the skids under any agreement with the USSR.

The Washington administration cannot help but heed Nunn's opinion. His—without exaggeration—unique status may result in it being namely Nunn on whom the tone, thrust, and results of the debates largely depend. An example of this is the discussion of the question of whether the United States should create the single-warhead [odnozaryadnyy] "Midgetmen" intercontinental ballistic missile to supplement the 10-warhead MX missile. It is quite clear to everyone that creating two weapon systems at once is costly and inadvisable. But Nunn "is ordering" the "Midgetmen," while insisting on using the MX as a "trump card" at the talks with the USSR.

Administration spokesmen say that this will complicate the prospects of the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons. Well, maybe that is the case. But if Nunn says the word the country must be prepared to fork out $47 billion. "If USSR-U.S. relations improve, what justification is there for creating another missile?" Senator J. McCain, a Republican from Arizona, is perplexed. Yet he is considered to be much more right-wing than Sam Nunn....

...I have today for some reason remembered a Sam Nunn press conference in January 1987 which I attended. It was almost his first in all the years that the senator has resided on Capitol Hill. When he entered the packed room, some of my U.S. colleagues began to intone under their breath the traditional "Hail to the Chief" march. I was surprised: For this march is the privilege of presidents alone. But U.S. journalists are shrewd people. They sometimes have a great deal better perception than ordinary mortals.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Businessmen

*PM2908112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Aug 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, met 18 August with the eminent U.S. businessmen and financiers J. Whitehead, chairman of the board of the AEA Investors company and formerly U.S. first deputy secretary of state; and J. Giffen, president of the U.S. Trade Consortium and former president of the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council.

U.S. Senator Dole Meets Armenia's Markaryants

*NC2408145789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0200 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's council of ministers, yesterday received Robert Dole, the renowned American politician and leader of the Republican Party in the U.S. Senate, his wife Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, and officials accompanying them. Vladimir Markaryants greeted Robert Dole and his wife on behalf of the republic's government and briefed the guests in detail about the course of construction and restoration work in the Spitak earthquake zone. [passage omitted] Robert Dole expressed his sympathy and solidarity with the Armenian people who experienced the destructive earthquake. He underlined that he had meet with President Bush before coming to Armenia and will brief him about the problems facing Armenia in eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster when he returns to the United States. He added that they would discuss U.S. assistance to the Armenian people.

Present at the meeting were: Suren Avedisyan, deputy chairman of the presidium of the Armenian Republic's supreme soviet; Levon Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's council of ministers; Anatoliy Mkrtchyan, the republic's foreign affairs minister; and Garlen Dallakyan, chairman of the committee for cultural relations with Armenians abroad. [passage omitted]

Primakov Receives Canadian Parlimentarians

LD2908174189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the USSR Supreme Soviet today a meeting took place between a delegation of the Canadian parliament headed by the speakers of the senate and the house of commons, Charron and Fraser, and Comrade Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union. Tasks which are now being resolved by the new composition of the Supreme Soviet were discussed. Two problems were singled out in particular, the economic one and that of interethnic relations. Talking about the latter, the chairman of the Soviet of the Union noted that the USSR Supreme Soviet is working in the direction of maximum scope for the independence of republics. But, he stressed, we are against encroachment on the rights of ethnic minorities living there and against national separatism.

Comparison of Ryzhkov Meeting With U.S. Delegation

PM2808135189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 27 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on a 26 August Kremlin meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and a delegation of the U.S. House Agriculture Committee. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Conversation With U.S. Congressmen," with the Moscow TASS English version, minus dateline, published in the 28 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the subtitle 'Economic Cooperation Emphasized', page 6, reveals the following variation:

Column two, paragraph three, last sentence PRAVDA reads: ...on this issue.

The following took part in the conversation, which took place in an amicable atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding: V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Procurements; A.M. Yemelyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food; A.A. Obukhov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry United States of America and Canada Administration; and also J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affairs in the USSR. (adding paragraph)

China

USSR, PRC, Mongolia Sign Trade Agreements

LD3008092789 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] The Soviet Union, Mongolia, and China have signed trade contracts for 1 million Swiss francs. In line with the accords, China is to supply to the USSR, equipment for the construction of a bread factory. A group of Chinese medical experts is to come to the Soviet Union to teach some of the methods of Chinese therapy. The three countries' railway departments are to maintain close cooperation.

Chinese Women's Delegation Visits Leningrad

OW2908223389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] A delegation of the All-China Women's Federation, headed by its chairman, Chen Muhua, continued its visit to the Soviet Union. After arriving in Leningrad on 20 August, the delegation visited the (Kistalev) public cemetery. Chen Muhua laid flowers at the public tomb of Leningrad residents who lost their lives in the great wars to defend the nation in 1941 and 1945, and paid tribute to those who lost their lives in the wars.

The delegation toured the city and visited revolutionary sites and places of historic interest.

Delegation Returns to Moscow

OW2908223189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] A delegation from the All-China Women's Federation is continuing its visit to the Soviet Union. The delegation is headed by Chen Muhua, president of the All-China Women's Federation, vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and member of the CPC Central Committee. After a 3-day visit to Georgia's capital of Tbilisi, the delegation has returned to Moscow. On Sunday, members of the delegation toured scenic spots, visited Lenin's mausoleum, and laid a wreath at the cemetery of unknown soldiers. In the afternoon, Chen Muhua hosted a reception at the Chinese Embassy.

Airlink Inaugurated Between Kazakhstan, Urumchi

LD2908180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 Aug 89

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] A regular air link has been inaugurated between Kazakhstan's capital Alma-Ata and the Chinese town of Urumchi. Expansion of economic and cultural ties between the two countries led to the need to open a new line. Families with relatives on either side of the border will now be able to see each other more frequently. Tickets for the flights are sold a month in advance. Geologists and construction and power workers also use the line. Everything would be fine except that in conditions of regional financial autonomy modern economic planes are required to make it possible to develop internal and international transportation. So far even such a large administration as the Kazakh has an acute shortage of new planes and fuel. It is already obvious that two trips per week are required but this can't happen immediately because of a shortage of fuel. Administrations and enterprises need to be given genuine independence in order to further perfect Aerofiot's work. The crew of the TU-154 landed in Urumchi after 1 ½ hours. This year it is proposed to open more air routes, Khabarovsk-Harbin and Moscow-Shanghai. [Video shows report by L. Elin showing Aeroflot plane on the tarmac; passengers inside an airport building; passengers making their way to the plane; Kazakh aviation administration official Yershov interviewed on existing problems]

Northeast Asia

USSR Offers To Sell Military Technology

OW2608001989 Tokyo KYODO in English 0001 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 25 KYODO—A high-ranking Soviet official said Friday the Soviet Union is ready to provide military technology to foreign countries in order to obtain foreign currency.

Vladislav Malkevich, president of the All-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said the Soviet Union had informed Japan of a list of military technology including a space shuttle during a three-day economic cooperation meeting between Japan and the Soviet Union which ended here Friday.

Malkevich, who led the Soviet delegation to the conference, told reporters the Communist nation is utilizing its military technology for consumer products under its "perestroyka" (economic restructuring) policy.

The 12th joint meeting of the Japan-Soviet Business Cooperation Committee and its Soviet counterpart was headed by Malkevich and Ryoichi Kawai, chairman of Komatsu Ltd.

Attending a press conference along with Kawai, the Soviet business leader unveiled the Soviet Union's plan to hold trade fairs of Soviet military high technology in Japan in the near future, following similar fairs in Munich, West Germany, due to be held this fall.

Meanwhile, Malkevich said the Soviet Union will allow Japanese companies to set up representative offices in Vladivostok to encourage Japanese participation as early as 1992 in economic development in the Soviet Far East.

Foreign visitors to Vladivostok, the home port of the Soviet Pacific fleet, are limited to those who have an official invitation.

Japanese business leaders who attended the conference said major Japanese trading houses including Mitsui and Co., Mitsubishi Corp. and Sumitomo Corp. will open regional offices in Khabarovsk in eastern Siberia within this year. Nissho Iwai Corp. already has a representative office in Khabarovsk.

Government Congratulates Japan's Kaifu, Nakayama

PM3008095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Telegrams Exchanged"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has sent a telegram to Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu congratulating him on taking up office. Noting with satisfaction the recent improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations, the USSR Council of Ministers expressed the hope that they will continue to constructively develop on the basis of the principles of good neighborliness, equality, and mutual benefit in the interests of the Soviet and Japanese peoples, the cause of peace, security, and broad international cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region and the world as a whole.

In an answering telegram T. Kaifu expressed appreciation for the congratulations and spoke in favor of establishing stable relations between the Soviet Union and Japan based on genuine mutual understanding and through broader dialogue and deeper trust.

Telegrams have also been exchanged between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Japanese Foreign Minister T. Nakayama on the latter's appointment to this post. The telegrams expressed hopes for the continued development of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Comparison of Ryzhkov Receives Japanese Delegation

PM2908075189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 26 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's 25 August meeting with Japanese businessmen. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "In the Interests of Cooperation," with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version, which appeared on pages 9-10 in the 28 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variations:

Page 9, paragraph one, PRAVDA article begins: ...[Text] On 25 August Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman... (dropping dateline, picking up paragraph one, sentence one, substituting date for "today");

Paragraph two, sole sentence, PRAVDA version reads: ...previous Soviet-Japanese economic forum under the... (inserting 'economic');

Page 10, paragraph one, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...coming into operation of the existing reserves, and the use of new forms and methods corresponding to the demands of the time. This applies in particular to the possibilities of... (supplying indistinct passage);

Last paragraph, sole sentence, PRAVDA version reads: ...countries was noted.

Taking part in the conversation for the Japanese side were: R. Kawai, head of the delegation; T. Muto, Japanese ambassador to the USSR; Y. Mimura, K. Matsuo, H. Watanabe, D. Kawake, T. Koshida, T. Tatsuno, and S. Kimura, leaders of Japanese companies; and for the Soviet side, Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry Presidium; and N.N. Solovyev, USSR ambassador to Japan. (supplying additional paragraph)

Papua New Guinea Postpones Fishing Agreement

LD3008094289 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0900 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] In a last-minute change of mind the Papua New Guinea Government has declined to sign a fisheries agreement with the Soviet Union, at least for the present. The signing ceremony was to have been carried out in Port Moresby by the foreign minister, Mr Michael Somare, and the head of a visiting Soviet fisheries delegation, Mr (Koranakov).

The media had been called to the main government building to watch the signing. However, Radio Australia's Port Moresby correspondent Sean Dourney says the Soviet delegation was kept waiting for 2 ½ hours for the Papua New Guinea cabinet to give its endorsement of the agreement. Finally, Papua New Guinea officials apologized and changed the signing ceremony to one of initialling a draft of the agreement. Mr Somare was not present.

Our correspondent says that the Papua New Guinea cabinet wants more time to study the proposed agreement and that it may not be formally signed until a Papua New Guinea Government delegation visits Moscow in several months.

Our correspondent says the Soviet fisheries delegation has delayed leaving Port Moresby for 5 days in the hope of having the agreement finalized.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze on Asian Policy, Indonesian Ties

PM2908155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with E.A. Shevardnadze by IZVESTIYA correspondent "in connection with the visit by President Suharto of Indonesia" to the USSR: "For a Full-Blown Dialogue Between the Soviet Union and Indonesia"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In view of the official visit to the USSR by President Suharto of Indonesia in the first half of September, I should like to ask you a number of questions. As is well known, in its resolution "On the Basic Guidelines of the USSR's Domestic and Foreign Policy," the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructed the Soviet Government among other things to act in the spirit of the Vladivostok initiatives in relations with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Can you tell us something about how this line is being implemented and how the Indonesian leader's forthcoming visit to our country fits into it?

[Answer] The Vladivostok program and the subsequent Soviet initiatives set out in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk and his interview with the newspaper MERDEKA are well known both in our country and abroad. Clearly, there is no need to repeat in detail the proposals contained in them. I shall recall only that they are aimed at consolidating peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region by lowering the level of military, including naval, confrontation and extending confidence-building measures and also at developing broad international cooperation in this vast region of the planet.

The events of the past 3 years show that the Vladivostok program is working and working well. Of course, one cannot fail to see the negative phenomena persisting in Asia and the Pacific or feel concern at the vast quantities of combustible material which still exist in this region: the continuing process of militarization, the deployment of nuclear missile systems, the expansion of a number of countries' military programs, and so forth. At the same time—and this has been particularly noticeable recently—the trend toward renewal and the definite improvement of the political climate is gathering pace in the Asian-Pacific zone as in other parts of the world. The search has begun for a balance of interests and ways to develop equitable partnership. The outlines of a solution to chronic regional conflicts and disputes are taking shape.

That positive development has undoubtedly been aided by the practical measures with which the Soviet Union is reinforcing its political line. They are the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the elimination of missiles in the Asian part of the USSR in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the adoption of decisions on a substantial reduction in the numbers of USSR troops and armaments in the Far East, a 75-percent reduction in the Soviet military contingent in Mongolia, and so forth.

It is through real action that our country confirms its readiness, stated in Vladivostok, to dynamically develop contacts with all participants in the region's political life. Evidently I should point first and foremost to this year's normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations—an event of not only regional but world significance.

Noticeable progress has been made recently in bilateral ties between the Soviet Union and the ASEAN countries. There is now a more lively political dialogue with the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore.

And, of course, we regard with satisfaction the current upswing in Soviet-Indonesian relations, which is an organic part of our Vladivostok program and of the general trends toward improvement in the situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

In February next year, diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Indonesia will be exactly 40 years old. However, the sources of the ties between our two countries and peoples lie in the far more distant past. Our country always followed with attention and sympathy the Indonesian people's struggle for national independence, which was born at the beginning of this century and became one of the components of the historically important process that V.I. Lenin called the "awakening of Asia." This struggle culminated in the proclamation of the country's independence in 1945.

The Soviet Union has invariably taken Indonesia's side when it has had to defend its independence, giving the young state all-round help and support, as, for example, during the struggle for the liberation of West Irian. That was when the foundations of Soviet-Indonesian friendship were laid and mutual liking arose between two of the biggest peoples in the Asian-Pacific region, which have helped our states to overcome the bouts of estrangement in their relations in past years caused by various factors, mainly ideological.

There is no need, in my opinion, to remind you of what Indonesia represents today. It is a major state in Southeast Asia with a dynamically developing economy and, in terms of population (almost 180 million), holds fifth place in the world. It is a country of a great and original culture.

Indonesia plays an appreciable role in modern-day international life. Its voice carries weight in the United Nations, where it speaks out decisively in favor of disarmament, the creation of a new international economic order, and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between states. On these and many other topical questions of world politics, the stands taken by the USSR and Indonesia are close or coincide.

Indonesia—one of the founder countries of the Nonaligned Movement—rightly holds a place as one of its leaders. It plays an active role in regional affairs. In this connection, I also cannot fail to point out Indonesia's positive contribution to the process of resolving the Cambodian problem, which in the political lexicon is known as the "Jakarta process." It is precisely for this reason that Indonesia is cochairman of the international conference on Cambodia in progress in Paris.

All this provides solid foundation for a broad, full-blown [polnokrovnyy] political dialogue between our countries. This dialogue has now become permanent—a fact reflected, in particular, in the regular meetings between foreign ministers.

Our countries have accumulated substantial experience in the sphere of trade-economic cooperation as well. The first session of the Soviet-Indonesian intergovernmental commission on trade-economic cooperation ended recently in Moscow. Both sides agreed that they can realistically aim to expand links on a mutually advantageous basis in many areas, above all in the power industry and light industry. There was mutual interest in exchanging scientific and technological developments.

Specific accords were also reached on a number of major projects. I think both our countries possess sufficient potential and, above all, the desire to ensure that the first steps are followed by others.

At the moment the Soviet Union and Indonesia are taking yet another step—they are raising their contacts to the highest level. From what has been said above it is clear that this development of events is natural, that the Indonesian president's upcoming official visit and the meeting between our countries' top leaders are an imperative of the times, a consequence of the favorable changes taking place in the world, just as the development of the creative potential and positive substance of Soviet-Indonesian relations is logical. I am convinced that the visit to the Soviet Union by the Indonesian head of state—the first in the past 25 years—will not only be a milestone in our bilateral relations and open up a new chapter in them, but will be an event of major international significance, a substantial contribution to improving the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and in the world as a whole.

[Question] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, in March 1987 you paid an official visit to Indonesia. Could you give me your personal impressions of the country?

[Answer] The impressions of my visit to Indonesia are still fresh in my mind, although it took place 2 ½ years ago. The most pleasant impressions. It is truly a great country, of stunning size, variety, and wealth of national cultures, rich in distinctive customs and traditions. Unfortunately, there was not time to visit the different areas of the country, each of which is unique in itself and, at the same time, is an integral part of a single nation, a single state. We did not have that many meetings with ordinary Indonesians, but we were everywhere aware of their hospitality and friendliness.

The conversation with President Suharto was very interesting and useful. He outlined the scale of future Soviet-Indonesian relations and advocated the development of political dialogue between the two countries and the deepening of their collaboration at international and regional levels.

Meetings with other Indonesian leaders, prominent politicians, and scientists, particularly from the Strategic Studies Center in Jakarta, are also memorable.

The conversations I had in Jakarta then convinced me that our countries and our peoples can derive much from one another's experience and can cooperate successfully in various spheres.

Returning to President Suharto's visit to the Soviet Union, I wanted to say that the important Indonesian guest will be given a warm reception and cordial hospitality in our country.

Commentary Views Sihanouk's Resignation

BK2908142589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] After one month of continued process, the international conference on Cambodia, conducted through hope and despair, is at present creating doubts about the success to be achieved by the conference. The last round of conference which has been going on for three days with the participation of the countries concerned began on Monday [28 August] in Paris to formulate a solution to the Cambodian problem.

On the eve of this last stage of talks, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, a key figure in the negotiations, announced his resignation from the presidency of the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia which is part of the Cambodian opposition alliance. The samdech has gave up his seat to Nhiek Tioulong who was his former foreign minister. However, according to his close aides, the samdech's resignation does not mean that he is giving up his position as the leader of the Cambodian opposition group.

Some delegates at the conference confirmed that through this gesture, the samdech has dissociated himself from the Polpotist Khmer Rouge.

Diplomats recalled that the alliance with the Khmer Rouge, condemned for slaughtering over 3 million people, has minimized Samdech Sihanouk's political capability.

For years, the samdech has served as rescuer of the Khmer Rouge. As such, his resignation was seen as a move to provide freedom of action to all parties concerned, said a Western diplomat. Another diplomat pointed out that this was a farce by linking Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's present move to his previous resignations.

The delegates representing the Asian states at the conference expressed pessimism over the maneuver, suspecting that the move could have a positive [as heard] effect on the resumed conference.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, the co-chairman of the conference, said the meeting would continue its work at ministerial-level as planned, despite the new circumstance.

At the same time, press news agencies reported the rejection by U.S. Secretary of States James Baker and British Foreign Minister John Major to attend the conference. The foreign ministers from Asia, Australia, and Canada have already arrived in Paris to participate in the last round of the meeting on Cambodia.

CPV Leader's Speech to Plenum Cited

LD2908221389 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Hanoi August 30 TASS—To successfully build socialism in Vietnam is the invariable goal of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) and of the entire Vietnamese people, Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, said addressing the concluding session of the seventh plenum of the CPV Central Committee held in Ho Chi Minh City on August 15-24.

The Vietnamese leader's speech published on Tuesday draws attention to an analysis of the present-day international situation.

He said in particular that the situation in the world was characterised by an unprecedented onslaught being undertaken against socialist countries by imperialist forces headed by the USA.

Reactionary forces are also conducting an offensive on the working class and all working people who struggle for their rights in capitalist countries. Those forces also try to stifle the national liberation movement in Third-World countries.

The plenum expressed concern over the existence of threat to socialism in a number of fraternal socialist countries. The situation that has taken shape is having an effect on Vietnam in this or that way, which manifests itself in the emergence of ideological deviations among a large number of party cadres and rank-and-file members of the CPV, Nguyen Van Linh pointed out.

At present, he went on to say, the world witnesses yet another fundamental contradiction: between peace campaigners and militarist-minded forces of imperialism.

The question of how to remove the nuclear menace by taking disarmament measures step by step and how to rule out the possibility of the use of force in any form has now moved to the fore.

The Vietnamese leader drew attention to the circumstance that the United States, while taking part in arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union, nevertheless conducts further research under the 'Star Wars' programme and seeks to keep its military presence in various regions of the world. As an example he cited the facts of stationing American military depots on the territory of Thailand which neighbours on Vietnam and plans for siting U.S. military facilities in Singapore.

Moving on to reviewing the state of affairs inside the country, the general secretary of the CPV Central Committee said the Communist Party should be at the head of the revolutionary process for successful conduct of socialist construction in Vietnam.

It is not fortuitous, he emphasised, that the leading role of the party is recognised by a majority of the Vietnamese people because history itself entrusted this mission to it.

The party encountered difficulties in its activity and made errors, too. However, it is important that the Communists boldly admitted shortcomings and drew lessons from errors and proceeded along the chosen road. Every tribulation only enriched the party's experience, the speaker said.

Nguyen Van Linh pointed further to the need for creative application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching in every-day practice and for profound study of dialectical materialism by all party workers and rank-and-file members of the Communist Party.

Turning to the question of democracy, the Vietnamese leader said he is an advocate of genuine democracy which serves the interests of all working people.

At the same time he called for the pursuance of a policy of dictatorship with regard to the enemies of the people and spoke out against the use of democracy by individuals or groups of people to the detriment of socialist society.

The plenum unanimously pointed to the unacceptability of bourgeois liberalisation and political pluralism or existence of multi-party opposition, the speaker emphasised.

"Many new complex issues have now arisen in the international communist and working-class movement. The task of the Vietnamese Communists is to make as tangible contribution as possible to the business of strengthening the unity of socialist countries and to support revolutionary forces in these countries which work for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. We are also aware of our duty to render support to the movement of national independence, democracy, peace and social progress around the world", Nguyen Van Linh stressed.

Near East & South Asia

Tarasov Meets 'Arafat in Baghdad

LD3008075789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0650 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Baghdad, 30 Aug (TASS)—A meeting took place on Tuesday between Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Gennadiy Tarasov, assistant to the USSR minister of foreign affairs and special representative of Near Eastern affairs, who is here.

Bessmertnykh Confers With Iranian Envoy

LD2908170589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—Today, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Nasir Heyani-Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, at the latter's request.

During the conversation, several practical questions of bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations were discussed on the implementation of the agreements reached during the official friendly visit to the Soviet Union in June this year by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis) of the Islamic Republic of Iran [title as received].

Individual international and regional problems of mutual interests were also discussed.

Japan's 'Biased' Stand on Iran Noted

NC2908105989 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Text] (?Yesterday three) Japanese businessmen arrived in Tehran for talks with Iranian representatives on the (?refusal) by Japan's Mitsui Company to complete the Petrochemical Complex in Bandar-e Khomeyni. Our commentator, Igor Sheftunov, writes on this:

According to the Iranian press, the Japanese company claims that the construction of this petrochemical complex is uneconomical. However, I think that there is another reason behind the Japanese company's refusal.

Many of our listeners know that in 1978, 85 percent of the construction work on the large petrochemical complex was complete. At that time the press, namely the Japanese press, spoke about the great significance of this plant and its economical aspects. However, after the victory of the anti-monarchical and anti-imperialist revolution in 1979, the West's approach on the construction of this unit and to Iran in general, changed. Imperialist companies strongly opposed the declaration of the Islamic Republic. On the pretext of instability in Iran in 1979, Mitsui Company recalled about 700 Japanese engineers and technicians from Bandar-e Khomeyni where the petrochemical complex was being built. Thus the construction of the complex completely stopped. After the economic siege on Iran announced by then U.S. President Carter and the freeze placed on Iranian assets in American banks, Japanese companies also resorted to economic and financial sanctions against Iran. Japanese banks refused to supply the money needed for the construction of the petrochemical complex, and representatives of Mitsui Company announced after the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war that they could study the completion of this complex only after the war ended.

More than a year has passed since the Iran-Iraq cease-fire was established under the aegis of the United Nations, and Iran has started reconstructing its economy. Tehran newspapers report that the construction of the Bandar-e Khomeyni Petrochemical Complex, which has been damaged by Iraqi air attacks, should be resumed and completed as soon as possible.

However, the Mitsui Company representative has stated that his company refuses to participate in completing this industrial unit. The TEHRAN TIMES reported recently that Mitsui Company is prepared to pay about one-fourth of the money spent for the construction of the petrochemical complex as compensation to Iran. The newspaper believes that this amount is not at all sufficient. However, the Mitsui Company apparently is not prepared to pay even this amount as reparations for the damage inflicted on Iran. Reuters News Agency has reported that a representative of the Japanese company has refuted the TEHRAN TIMES report and pointed out that the Japanese banks intend to make Iran repay the money spent to build the Bandar-e Khomeyni Petrochemical Complex.

All these can only be described as an effort by Japanese companies to implement a blatantly biased policy against Iran.

Gerasimov Outlines Soviet Peace Efforts on Lebanon

LD2908175789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] A briefing was held [29 Aug] in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry for Soviet and foreign journalists. Comrade Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate spoke at it, and dwelt on the efforts of the Soviet Union to settle the situation in Lebanon.

[Begin Gerasimov recording] We regard the mobilization of international efforts to settle the Lebanese crisis as extremely urgent and important. We see as the most true and effective way of achieving this goal the resumption of work by the Committee of Three, which was set up by a decision of the heads of Arab states at a Casablanca conference. At the same time, it is apparent that the Committee of Three should sense the constant and effective support of the international community. In this context we are maintaining contacts with all sides who may in some way facilitate a Lebanese settlement.

We are convinced that an important role in resuming the mission of the tripartite committee here rightly belongs to the UN secretary general, and we urgently appeal to him to make the most active efforts in this regard.

An exchange of verbal messages on the Lebanese question has taken place with Pope John Paul II. This exchange showed a closeness, a significant closeness, in the approaches of the Soviet Union and the Vatican on matters such as ensuring a cease-fire in Lebanon, the start of dialogue between the belligerent Lebanese groupings, and the restoration of state institutions.

It has already been reported that the Soviet side has addressed the governments of the member countries of the Committee of Three—Morocco, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia—with an explanation of our position on the matter of the initial steps with the aim of getting out of the Lebanese dead-end, and with an expression of willingness to give energetic support to the committee in its resumed mission.

We also appealed to Kubi, secretary general of the League of Arab States, to use the authority of this international organization toward reconciliation in Lebanon and the establishment of a constructive dialogue.

In continuation of contacts with all Lebanese groupings which are supported by the Soviet Union, Gennadiy Tarasov, advisor of the USSR minister of foreign affairs and special representative on Near East Affairs, was in Beirut on 24-25 August. He spoke with Huss, acting head of the Lebanese Government, with General 'Awn, the leader of the so-called transitional government, with Husayni, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, and with Maronite Patriarch Sfayr. The Soviet representative also held a conversation in Damascus with Syrian Foreign Minister Shar'.

The Soviet Union is inclined to continue its energetic work toward facilitating a Lebanese settlement. [end recording]

Afghanistan's Wakil Leaves for SFRY

LD2908150589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1346 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, who made a stopover here after leaving Kabul, today left Moscow for Belgrade.

Komplektov Receives Pakistani Information Minister

PM3008093989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov received J. Jabbar, Pakistani minister of state for information and broadcasting, who is in Moscow at the invitation of TASS, 24 August.

Abdul Sattar, Pakistani ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

Ukraine's Shevchenko Meets India's Gandhi

LD2908104689 Kiev in English to Europe 1800 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting was held in Delhi between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and the Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Valentina Shevchenko. She heads the Soviet delegation which was invited by the Indian Government to attend festivities in connection with the anniversary of India's independence. Both sides pointed to the significance of holding regular meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and India for coordinating efforts on the international scene.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin Assesses Southern African Situation

MB2608201989 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Report on interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin by correspondent (Igor Bezhnevskiy); date and place of interview not given; Adamishin remarks in Russian fading to English translation]

[Text] Our correspondent, (Igor Bezhnevskiy), met with the USSR deputy minister for foreign affairs, Anatoliy Adamishin and asked him to analyze the situation in South Africa.

Recently, you took part in the international conference on the problems of South Africa that took place in Switzerland. It was attended by representatives of the Frontline States of Africa, the United States, South Africa, and the national liberation movements. Why did such a conference take place?

[Begin recording] [Adamishin] Now, what would I like to note?

First of all, the interest for that region has grown. Before, too, the interest was not so small because a quite serious knot of contradictions has formed there, and now, interest [word indistinct] has risen still more, what with the rapid changes taking place in South Africa.

The general [words indistinct] of the [words indistinct] is in a different sense decisive. Positive changes are beginning today.

First of all, an agreement has been reached concerning the granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of a known plan.

The South African forces have left Angola, where they were for 13 years. Cuban forces, on a scheduled basis and in compliance with a timetable, are being withdrawn from the country. The first steps in the settlement of the inter-Angolan conflict have been achieved. Although it is proceeding with difficulty, the fact of the achievement of the accords on a cease-fire, even if the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is violating them, is an important event, especially if we take into account that the war was being waged without interruption for over 10 years.

The prospects on the achievement of peace in Mozambique have considerably increased.

In South Africa itself, at least in [word indistinct] the changes are such that they can instill a definite hope in the future.

[(Bezhnevskiy)] Lately, the situation in Namibia has considerably got complicated. Will this influence the process of the fulfillment of the agreements on the granting independence to that country?

[Adamishin] There are considerable difficulties there. A whole number of voices maintain that South Africa does not implement or fulfill obligations in that country. South Africans, on their part, refer to the measures they take to exclude the most odious policemen from the groups that supervise order in the north.

In short, there are difficulties. Claims can be laid to South Africa, but the general opinion is that the process of Namibia's decolonization has become inevitable. As is known, the Soviet Union renders assistance to SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], the organization that, according to our data, enjoys the support of the majority of the Namibian population.

We wish [words indistinct] the coming November elections. We hope that the transition period before the proclamation of independence planned for next April will be calm.

[(Bezhnevskiy)] What, in your view, are the prospects for the Angolan settlement?

[Adamishin] As I have mentioned before, after the first hopeful developments, that is, after the agreements leading to a cease-fire and implementation of the Angolan Government's plan were signed in the Zairian city of Gbadolite, there have appeared sober assessments.

This is due to the fact that UNITA started violating the agreements after complying with them for hardly a couple of days. Unseemly appeals, like forward to

Luanda and seize Luanda, began to be pronounced. In a word, a miltary solution is at stake again. Here is where complications appeared and have remained up till now [words indistinct] support by Zaire and other African states do all in their power so that the process of national reconciliation in Angola does not turn off the road as it is now going. [end recording]

East Europe

Polish Scene Viewed; Kryuchkov Visit Noted

PM3008091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch under the "Abroad" rubric: "Poland: The Wave of Strikes Is Subsiding"]

[Text] Warsaw—Poland's new prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is wrapped up in his concern to form his own cabinet. Important great work which is being carried out against a backdrop of general uneasiness about the future, which was conveyed in an extreme fashion by the almost universal strikes at enterprises.

Fortunately, the wave of strikes has began to subside appreciably, which is seen as a reaction to the emergence of a broad coalition government, from which people expect radical changes in the country's economic situation. The railroad workers' strike, which was particularly annoying for millions of Poles, has been suspended. The Metallurgical Workers Trade Union Federation urged all working people to refrain from any protest action for at least 6 months to thus give the government the chance of a normal start.

People here greeted with satisfaction the obvious easing of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leadership's position on the new coalition headed by "Solidarity." This was expressed in the form of a congratulatory telegram from M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to Mazowiecki, in which he emphasized that the new premier's express desire for further reforms of the Polish economic and political system coincides on many points with the party's program aims. This creates, the telegram said, favorable preconditions for our cooperation in the interests of Poland and the Poles. The government can count on the PZPR's support in everything that will help extricate the country from the crisis.

Members of the PZPR leadership are holding official meetings at grassroots organizations. Thus, L. Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, replied in the affirmative to the question of whether the party is interested in the success of Mazowiecki's government during a conversation with the part aktiv at Kalisz. We must, he said, think primarily about the interests of Poland and then about the interests of the party. The party must not be guided by the strategy of 'the worse the situation is in the country, the better it is for us."

A meeting between M. Krol, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and mass media workers in Poznan, where he was editor in chief of the weekly WPROST quite recently, was new and unusual in terms of substance. What role will party publications now play in Poland? This is a question that worries many people now. First of all, the Central Committee secretary said, we expect them to support the party in its efforts to implement a policy of partnership that accords with the new alignment of forces in the parliament. Since the party press is henceforth, like all other publications, also operating in conditions of a market economy with the competition that entails, editorial collectives themselves will decide its success and development. It depends on them as to how far they enhance the degree of attractiveness of their newspapers, weeklies, and journals. It is only the quality of a publication that can win over the reader market.

For a long time, the Central Committee secretary said, people in our country used to hold the opinion that a newspaper is only good when it is "ideologically" sound and economic matters were relegated to the backburner somewhere. Now—as is, correspondingly, the case worldwide—only a newspaper that operates in an up-to-the-minute fashion and is capable of being of interest to the reader with topical problems of life and its own stance can be successful. In short, the mass media will not be able to avoid market laws now.

Polish newspapers have announced that Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has received V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB, who is paying a working visit to Poland. Army General C. Kiszczak took part in the meeting. It is also announced that Kryuchkov paid a visit to Polish President W. Jaruzelski.

Primakov Presents Award to Polish Ambassador

LD2908180189 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, presented here today a People's Friendship Order to Wlodzimierz Natorf, the Polish ambassador to the USSR. On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, he congratulated the ambassador on the high award, marking his active efforts to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. He stressed the great importance which the Soviet Union attaches to the development and improvement of all-round Soviet-Polish cooperation in the interests of the two states and peoples.

Wlodzimierz Natorf expressed profound gratitude for the high evaluation of his activities.

Prague Trial of Two Hungarians Reported

LD2908190289 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague August 29 TASS—A trial of two Hungarian students, who were arrested in connection with their involvement in an unsanctioned demonstration in Prague on August 21, began here on Tuesday.

They were charged with violating the public order and under the current legislation they are faced with deprivation of freedom for a term of three to six months or a fine ranging from 5,000 to 20,000 koruny, the CETEKA NEWS AGENCY reports.

Budapest August 29 TASS—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Monday summoned the charge d'affaires ad interim of Czechoslovakia to Hungary and expressed the Hungarian side's protest in view of the measures taken by Czechoslovak authorities against two Hungarian citizens detained during the August 21 demonstration in Prague, the Hungarian news agency MTI reported.

The minister voiced hope that competent Czechoslovak bodies would act circumspectly and humanely and that the problem which interferes with Hungarian-Czechoslovak contacts would be resolved as soon as possible.

At the same time Horn reaffirmed the Hungarian point of view that non-interference in the internal affairs of each other was the determining principle of inter-state relations.

Prague August 29 TASS—The charge d'affaires ad interim of Hungary to Czechoslovakia was summoned to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry on Monday, the CETEKA NEWS AGENCY reported.

He was told that Czechoslovakia was firmly interested in further all-round development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations but could not permit abuses of Czechoslovak hospitality on the part of some Hungarian citizens or violation of Czechoslovak laws and order by them.

Czechoslovak bodies acted with regard to the two Hungarian citizens in accordance with Czechoslovak laws and international commitments as well as under the legal assistance treaty between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the report said.

The Czechoslovak side also demanded that order and tranquility be ensured outside the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest.

More on Hungarian Detainees

LD2908141889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Hungary's papers are full of lengthy reports on the fate of two Hungarian citizens who have been detained by the Czechoslovak authorities for active participation in an unsanctioned demonstration held in Prague 21 August. As you know, the action was organized by opposition-oriented forces on the occasion of the anniversary of the Czechoslovak events of 1968. Our correspondent Vladimir Stefanov reports the details from Budapest:

[Stefanov] Around the young people who in the next few days will stand before a Czechoslovak court some mouthpieces of the Hungarian press are creating a halo of some kind of heroes in the struggle for democracy. The Alliance of Free Democrats held a demonstration in defense of the martyrs in Budapest on Saturday. The Hungarian consul in Prague informs the country that Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi —the names of the youths—despite the situation that has shaped up, feel fine and have received the news of their coming trial calmly. The victims will be defended by one of Prague's best lawyers.

Reading and listening to all these statements, reports, and protests you wonder how the Hungarian fighters for democracy actually found themselves on Prague Square on that day of trouble? Did the Czechoslovak authorities only fortuitously find a reason to accuse them of a breach of the peace? The court, of course, will find out the gist of what happened and will pass its decision but I think it is fair to ask these rhetorical questions before the trial.

Incidentally, the young people in question are leaders of the Hungarian opposition organization, Federation of Young Democrats, the same organization which held an anti-Soviet demonstration outside the Soviet Embassy in June this year. Then, at a meeting, the young Hungarian democrats accused the Soviet Union of many grave sins, including that of interference in Hungary's affairs. The accusations can be disputed, but the principle of noninterference, which is being preached by the opposition youth organization is just, no denying that. It is to be hoped that the days they spent in Prague will help the young Hungarian democrats to realize that principles should not only be upheld: principles should also be strictly adhered to.

CSSR Deputy Premier Concludes 5-Day Visit

LD2908212189 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow Aug 29 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering Ladislav Vodrazka today ended his five-day working visit to the Soviet Union.

Earlier today, Ladislav Vodrazka met with Soviet deputy premier and chairman of the Bureau of the Soviet Council of Ministers for engineering Ivan Silayev. They discussed the two countries' cooperation in engineering and in seeking new ways for reaching a maximum bulk of mutual supplies and increasing the export of Soviet equipment and products to Czechoslovakia.

On Monday, the Czechoslovak guest met with first deputy premier, chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee Yuriy Maslyukov and minister of external economic relations Konstantin Katushev. They evaluated coordination of the two countries' national economic plans for the next five year plan period and the ensuring of increased Soviet exports to Czechoslovakia.

They paid attention to the problems concerning the conversion of the defence industry, cooperation in the production and exchange of ecological equipment, the possibilities of supplies of electronic devices and computers from the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia which would exceed the present limits, and supplies of Czechoslovak complete plants in exchange for supplies of products of the chemical and wood-processing industries.

Ladislav Vodrazka met also with minister of the machine tool and instrument making industry Nikolay Panichev, minister of the automobile industry and agricultural engineering Nikolay Pugin, minister of heavy engineering Vladimir Velichko and minister of metallurgy Serafim Kolpakov and discussed with them prospects for cooperation in the branches concerned.

Interview With CSSR Premier Adamec Reported

PM3008090189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 55

[Interview with L. Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government, by own correspondent L. Kornilov in Prague 23 August: "View of Perestroyka in Czechoslovakia"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Prague—Comrade Ladislav Adamec, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, was born 10 September 1926 in the north Moravian town of Frenstat pod Rahostem. He entered the Communist Party at the age of 20. He graduated from business school and then worked in various posts; he was, inter alia, director of a plant in his native city and was elected chairman of the national committee there, and headed the district planning commission. He has been employed at the CPCZ Central Committee since 1963. He finished his postgraduate studies and was nominated for eminent government posts. He has been a member of the CPCZ Central Committee since 1966. He has spent 2 years on its Presidium.

...The president of the Czechoslovak Government is a tall, energetic, and affable man with a penchant for joking. "Let's try not to have too much of an official discussion," he said. That is how this interview began.

[Kornilov] What is your opinion of the current phase of restructuring in the CSSR?

[Adamec] The program for the comprehensive restructuring of socialist society has been under way for a little under 2 years—since the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in December 1987. It was at first oriented above all to the restructuring of the economic mechanism but it began to outgrow the framework of a purely economic reform. This program today incorporates the democratization and improvement of the activity of the CPCZ, the National Front, the national committees (local bodies of power—L.K.), and our entire political system.

We are increasingly profoundly aware of how economic reforms depend on political reforms and how a high quality of leadership depends on the new thinking. We are coming to the conclusion that the shortcomings that accumulated over a long period must not be eliminated by "minor repairs" or partial improvements to existing structures but only on the basis of revolutionary changes.

The CPSU's innovative activity to renew and creatively develop the theory and practice of socialism in the Soviet Union is an inspiring example to us. Despite different concrete approaches and rates of activity, we are dependent on effectively the same lessons of the past and our sources of success and failure are comparable. The fact that restructuring in the CSSR and perestroyka in the USSR have common features also provides us with fresh opportunities to deepen the tremendous successfulness of our cooperation. I oppose mechanical and routine imitation of other countries' practices. But I also reject disregard for common features and underestimation of useful experience. Both stances are incorrect—it is not important whether they are justified by concepts of "special features" or are based on considerations of expediency, personal refusal to accept changes, and laziness of thinking.

I personally have a particularly high opinion of the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet Government to restructure their own activity and the attention that they are devoting to studying the ties and relations between political transformations and economic reform, between the struggle for the new thinking and rational organization of labor and the supreme idea that depends first and foremost on unity of words and actions. The aspiration to do as much as possible to solve man's everyday problems by studying people's views and believing in their desire to support the restructuring program is also remarkable. That is the main thing, in my opinion.

[Kornilov] What are the weaknesses in the Czechoslovak economy today and will you succeed in "solving" them?

[Adamec] Two years is not such a long time but the weaknesses must, of course, be overcome today. Time is pressing and omissions must be repaired. Progress is complicated by various disproportions in the economy and limited funds. Production stocks have become outmoded. There is no adequate theoretical base.

In our view, involving people in the task is a crucial condition for success. We must strive to ensure that people are both morally and materially interested in restructuring and are able to find a niche there and we must ensure that everyone sincerely wants to make his personal contribution to the cause. This can only be achieved on the basis of the new thinking and the most responsible approaches and concrete actions. This arises in the struggle against outmoded views, habits, and inertia.

[Kornilov] There are various opinions regarding the further development of the Czechoslovak national economy, changes in its structure, and so on. What is your viewpoint?

[Adamec] I am a staunch advocate of economic reform. We cannot prevent the economic situation from deteriorating further without consistent and comprehensive economic reform. But a radical change in the economic mechanism is no panacea for us. I believe that we must at the same time radically restructure our economic structure. We must change the correlation between groups "A" and "B" [producer goods and consumer goods respectively] and dynamically develop progressive areas and, on the other hand, cut down those areas which are not effective but require tremendous expenditure of energy and raw materials. Is it necessary to recall that we have an acute shortage of both. After 40 years or so of socialist building the federal government is today embarking on profound structural changes of such scope and for such a long-term perspective for the first time. We are obliged to graphically prove the advantages of socialism in the resolution of social problems, regular provision of appropriate jobs, and cadre retraining—everything linked with man's needs. We are obtaining our first experience, by reducing uranium ore extraction today. This shows that if we think out and explain everything in a sensible fashion, we can successfully combine society's interests with the interests of labor collectives.

[Kornilov] The CSSR was also noted for its strong social policy. If one may say so, there is nothing for you to restructure there. Nonetheless, how is the restructuring process affecting the social position of Czechoslovak citizens?

[Adamec] If you compare our situation with that observed in certain other countries—this applies particularly to the availability of goods in the stores—it may appear that we do not need to change a great deal in the social sphere. But that is an over-simplified interpretation of the matter. The population's complaints regarding their living standards and the quality of social security are constantly growing. For as you know there was stagnation and even a deterioration in the medical service, for instance, in the eighties, and this was not the only area to suffer such phenomena. It is well known that 25 years ago Czechoslovakia was one of the most economically developed countries in the world, which considerably promoted the attractiveness of socialism as a whole. That is not the case today and we cannot, and do not want to resign ourselves to this. We are worried whether we will succeed in regaining this leading position. A rapid increase in the quality of life in developed capitalist countries is rendering this increasingly topical.

Thus, the accelerated restructuring of social policy must not only restore our former position in the world but also unleash the people's political and economic activeness and thus give our entire social system a new boost. People want tangible and rapid proof that restructuring is being directed in their interests. The fruits of restructuring must above all be tangible in the social sphere. We know that this is no easy matter. The possibility that temporary difficulties will arise cannot be ruled out. But we have no right to give up.

[Kornilov] It is well known that Czechoslovak economic reform was elaborated and introduced by the CPCZ and the government prior to the 1968-1969 crisis. What was useful in the ideas of that time? Has it proved possible to implement them? Wasn't a negative attitude to certain political mistakes dating back to that period transferred to the ideas of economic reform?

[Adamec] We are now implementing our third economic reform. On the one hand this enables us to use the valuable experience we have gained from earlier attempts, while on the other it produces a certain degree of cautiousness, misgivings, and mistrust. Both these factors are really at work today and we must take them into consideration. It is interesting, I believe, to recall that a CPCZ Central Committee plenum examined the question of boosting the effectiveness of the national economy in 1957. But therein also lies the bitter truth that a country which had such opportunities to demonstrate its splendid emergence from an "extensively administrative" situation earlier than others was unable to perform these tasks for both internal and external reasons. To the detriment of its own development and the entire socialist community. It is especially important to ensure that the current economic reform does not choke and is implemented consistently. We are not promising an immediate improvement, but any deviation and return to the old ways would condemn us once and for all to the position of a second-rate country. That would be a severe blow to socialism, not only in Czechoslovakia moreover.

Many people in our country remember the efforts made in the fifties and sixties to boost enterprises' independence, introduce cost relationships more extensively, and eliminate the administrative interpretation of the state plan. Alas, these plans were implemented in an uncomprehensive and half-hearted manner and we abandoned them altogether a short time after. In many respects that discredited the efforts we had made. It is also true that economic reform was retarded for a long time in the process of overcoming the results of the crisis development of the late 1960's. Opportunities for the creative development of economic science and for independent experiment were substantially restricted. Too much time and effort was spent on criticizing various opinions and views and too little on finding positive solutions to practical economic problems. Doubts were also cast on decisions elaborated in the Central Committee regarding the restructuring of economic theory and practice as applied to new conditions along with the rejection of certain political extremes. This inflicted great not only economic but also political and moral damage. Definite mistrust of innovation and fear of potential risks and mistakes still prevails in many people's consciousness. It is not that easy to break down such deeply ingrained ideas, which are moreover often linked with loyalty to the ideals of socialism. But we cannot progress without this! And it is not a matter only of the economy but also of politics and ideology.

[Kornilov] One of the main tasks of restructuring is to abandon rigid centralized leadership and give the "grass roots" scope for action. In your opinion, what effect will this have on the substance and volume of the government's work and what will you personally be concerned with?

[Adamec] The old administrative instruments are ceasing to function today while the new economic systems are only beginning to function. That is why the government is forced to somehow combine administrative and economic methods of management. This is the transitional process and it is not always understood correctly. We are sometimes criticized for letting matters drift too much; sometimes for having not yet learned to employ economic methods and proceed by means of investments and tax and credit policy. Certainly, we are learning to govern in a new way, but under the present conditions of economic imbalance we must use definite regulating measures. I can cite as an example the government's decision regarding a temporary moratorium on the construction of housing, environmental, and certain other facilities until the end of this year.

There will be less operational and more strategic decisions in the government's work. More economic efficiency studies and study of various alternatives and options for solutions. More responsibility from individual ministers for government policy as a whole and for their respective sectors. We must not rely, as before, solely on the force of resolutions but must be bolder in taking risks and invest more personal initiative in the common cause. The incumbent government's work is still far removed from my notions of it. Major changes lie ahead of us here. Work will by no means diminish but it will be different. I see this as my main personal concern.

[Kornilov] It is the anniversary of the Slovak national uprising 29 August. It is well known that there are people of various nationalities living in the CSSR and a great deal has been done to ensure their real equality. But are there no problems in this areas today? Are people conscious of the nationalities question in the CSSR to some extent?

[Adamec] The practical results in the resolution of the nationalities question in the CSSR are a graphic example of loyalty to the Leninist approach to this most complex problem. I believe that they also confirm the rule that the nationalities question is to an enormous extent a socioeconomic question. Thus, the equalization of socioeconomic conditions in Bohemia and Slovakia is one of the greatest successes in CPCZ policy. Today when we are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising the peoples of the entire CSSR note with pride that socialism has transformed this once backward region into a contemporary flourishing republic.

However, the achievements and largely positive assessments of national relations in our country do not mean that the path we have traveled has been without a hitch and without rough patches and that there were not various distortions. Problems exist even now. It is the demands of life that dictated the creation of the Party Work Committee last year in the Czech Socialist Republic. The principles for the more just distribution of the federation's funds between the two republics were established recently. In connection with the preparation of a new CSSR Constitution we are pondering how to ensure that our federal system becomes more effective, flexible, and economic.

[Kornilov] Could you say a few words about how the government interacts with the cooperative sector of the economy.

[Adamec] Cooperatives occupy a very appreciable place in our national economy. Almost 850 production, housing, and consumer cooperatives operate in Czechoslovakia today. Some 40 percent of retail commodity turnover is implemented via cooperative trade. Housing cooperatives build almost twice as many apartments as the state using their own funds. Some 1,658 agricultural cooperatives cultivate 65 percent of Czechoslovak agricultural land. Some 13.3 percent of all the country's working people are employed in the cooperative sector. Most cooperatives are flexible profitable enterprises and they are held in very high repute. But we need more small cooperatives, especially to expand and improve the market for all types of services.

Along with the governments of Bohemia and Slovakia the federal government sees the cooperative movement as a very important link. It is an inalienable part of our economic and social system. We respect cooperative bodies' autonomy. That is why all government decisions regarding the cooperative system are by way of recommendations.

[Kornilov] In addition to the National Front, there are many public organizations in Czechoslovakia, including those which it is customary to describe as "unlawful" and "illegal" groups. How is the CSSR Government building or how would it like to build its relations with these and other groups?

[Adamec] Public life in our country is traditionally rich both in terms of its mass nature and in terms of the broad spectrum of ways in which people's most varied interests and passions are satisfied. For instance, the following fact attests to this: The CPCZ, the other 4 political parties, and 26 public organizations in the National Front number 28 million members (don't be surprised: The entire CSSR population amounts to 15.5 million people but people belong to 2, 3, or more organizations). In addition 300 legally registered voluntary organizations and societies operate in our country. All this helps many people's capabilities and knowledge to be put to use and enables their mass participation in creative labor and in implementing and controlling policy. However, I by no means believe in judging things solely on the basis of figures. Life shows that a high degree of organization often becomes regimentation. But the situation is not changing as rapidly as we would like.

In its program statement last November the government stressed unequivocally its interest in obtaining most extensive support from its citizens. Government sessions are being held together with National Front, trade union, and Socialist Union of Young People bodies. Cooperation with Czechoslovak Union of Women and other public organizations is being organized.

In the last few years a number of organizations have indeed arisen outside the National Front framework. There are no reasons for an adverse reaction to organizations whose actions demonstrate their sincere interest in the constructive resolution of society's problems. Such as, for instance, the Czechoslovak Public Committee on Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation: This organization was given official confirmation of its statute today (the conversation took place 23 August—L.K.). In short, we support socialist pluralism and dialogue and are prepared to hold debates gladly, heed criticism, and consider comments and proposals in our work. But it is hard to find a common language with those who direct their attention to destructive activity, attack the fundamental values and interests of the socialist state, and have set about violating the laws and exerting pressure.

[Kornilov] How do you assess the role of glasnost and the increased activeness of the press in the country's life? Do these processes help or hinder the government in its work?

[Adamec] Of course, they help. We ourselves are applying considerable efforts to ensure that people know of the role of the government and to ensure that glasnost also extends to our plans and intentions. Thus, we hold press conferences every week, where journalists are informed of recent government sessions. I am convinced that the government cannot do without regular provision of information for people and without openness and glasnost.

[Kornilov] You returned from the Soviet Union quite recently, where you were on vacation with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. What are your personal impressions as a vacationer rather than as president of the government?

[Adamec] As a vacationer, you realize, I mainly rested. Although I also found time to make preparations for my future work. I followed the Soviet press and television with interest. I had an opportunity to discuss matters with a number of Soviet comrades and visited several cities. Admittedly I drew an overall conclusion from these quite private impressions: The atmosphere of perestroyka is notable for its absolute frankness, bold quest for solutions, and supreme responsibility for the future. That is precisely what we want for our country.

[Kornilov] Thank you, Comrade President, for the substantive conversation.

Uprising Jubilee Message to CSSR Leaders Noted

PM3008100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leading bodies' message to Czechoslovakia on Slovak national uprising anniversary]

[Text]To comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [CSSR], and Comrade Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier.

Dear comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers, and all Soviet people send you and the fraternal Czechoslovak people cordial congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

The Slovak National Uprising, inspired by the noble ideas of the struggle for freedom and restoration of a united, democratic Czechoslovak state, is an established part of the chronicles of the heroic struggle against fascist enslavement and was a striking manifestation of our peoples' combat comradeship.

We value highly the relations of friendship and cooperation that have taken shape between the USSR and the CSSR. We are convinced that the mutual desire to strengthen the dynamism and renew the forms of bilateral links accords with these fine traditions and the fundamental interests of the two countries' peoples and serves to enhance the effectiveness of collaboration in the political, economic, and spiritual spheres.

We wish you and all Czechoslovak working people successful implementation of the perestroyka plans and fruitful labor in the name of the prosperity of your socialist homeland and the strengthening of peace in Europe and worldwide.

The CPSU Central Committee
The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
The USSR Council of Ministers.

West Europe

Soviet Knowledge of Palme Death Called 'Fable'

LD2908212589 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 29 Aug 89

[See aslo an item entitled "Swedish Police Suspected of 'Bugging' Diplomat" published on page 20 of the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Stockholm August 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov:

"An empty fable which no one will believe", such is the gist of editorial comments in Swedish newspapers on allegations that there had been knowledge in the USSR about plans to assassinate Olof Palme. Such a response to these allegations was clearly not in keeping with the expectations of those who made them.

Who could print such absurdies on newspaper pages and what could be expected to achieve by them, the Stockholm AFTERBLADET asks.

The answer to these questions suggest itself by reports that the Swedish security police has long been tapping telephone conversations of a Soviet diplomat, which served as the basis for "revelations" of which the Swedish people was informed.

It is no secret that a number of officials of the security police are suspected of illegal operations for eavesdropping on Swedish citizens' and on foreigners' telephone conversations. An investigation into such offences is being conducted. Such crimes are strictly punished under Swedish legislation. Many politicians and broad public take a very negative view of such "misdeeds". Hence, there was a need for any pretext, even the most implausible one, to try justify these actions.

AFTONBLADET is of the opinion that the latest "sensation" originated from these circumstances.

Neither Swedish legislation nor international law have any justifications for bugging the apartment of a Soviet diplomat in a Stockholm suburb and the tapping of his telephone conversations which, according to press reports, was effected with "assistance" of the United States CIA in the course of two years till the autumn of 1987. DAGENS NYHETER testifies that neither do instructions of the Swedish security policy justify such wrongdoings. So those guilty of them, in order to exonerate themselves somehow, decided to resort to fables about the results which this illegal operation allegedly achieved.

Finnish Premier Receives Arbatov in Helsinki

LD2908190589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1441 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki, 29 Aug (TASS)—Today Harri Holkeri, prime minister of Finland received Georgiy Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute and USSR people's deputy, who is here at the invitation of the "Rastor", an organization of business circles of Finland. During the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Arbatov informed the head of the Finnish Government about the economic and political situation in the USSR. It was stressed that the processes of restructuring of Soviet society are having a favorable effect on the further improvement of the political climate in Europe and throughout the world.

Arbatov was also received by Pertti Paasio, Finland's minister of foreign affairs.

Arbatov on Baltic Problems, Perestroyka

LD2808205189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki, 28 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhnyy reports:

G.A. Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and USSR people's deputy, who is staying here at the invitation of "Rastor," an organization of Finnish business circles, held a news conference today for foreign journalists. He talked about the processes of perestroyka going on in the USSR, which have already led to major changes and promoted an expansion of glasnost and democratization. At the same time, he said that many economic problems were not successfully tackled at the initial stage of perestroyka. Now particular attention is being assigned to this question: The economic independence of enterprises is being extended and the individual sector of the economy is receiving greater freedom. However, some of the measures being taken suffer from half-heartedness, said the academician.

Replying to questions about the position in the Baltic republics, G.A. Arbatov noted that the situation there should not be compared with the processes in the southern republics of the country. Thus, in Armenia what is at issue is primarily a nationality question, which, in combination with religious problems, has a history going back many centuries. In the Baltics, however, it is primarily a matter of a political struggle and problems connected with the entry of those republics into the USSR. The state of affairs in that region to a large extent depends on solving economic problems he noted.

Perestroyka in the Soviet Union will undoubtedly have a broad effect on the whole world economy, stressed G.A. Arbatov, and so people should have a more responsible attitude to it both in the Soviet Union itself, and outside its borders.

Also today G.A. Arbatov was received by President Mauno Koivisto of Finland.

Brutents at Finnish Social Democrat Celebration

PM3008094389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Excerpts] Turku (Finland), 28 Aug—The celebrations marking the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Finnish Social Democratic Party culminated in a procession involving many thousands of people through the city's central streets. [passage omitted]

K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, participated in the events in connection with the anniversary.

There was a meeting between P. Paasio [Finnish Social Democratic Party chairman] and Brutents.

An exchange of opinions on questions of the further development of cooperation between the CPSU and the Finnish Social Democratic Party, in particular in the sphere of collaboration between the two currents of the workers movement in the solution of topical issues, was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Paris Paper Cited on Baltic Developments

PM3008104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "L'HUMANITE Comments"]

[Text] Paris, 27 August—The newspaper L'HUMANITE has published an article by its USSR correspondent Bernard Frederic which analyzes the processes currently taking place in the Soviet Baltic republics and their consequences for both the future of perestroyka and stability in Europe.

For many years, the article says, nationalistically minded circles in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia been using the German-Soviet treaties as an excuse for demanding the secession of the three republics from the Soviet Union. Previously they did this through emigres abroad with the help of foreign radio stations. Now they are acting on the spot.

When powerful mass movements appeared in the Baltic states proclaiming themselves bearers of the ideals of perestroyka, the local authorities took up an indecisive or else hostile stance in relation to them. Now this leadership has been replaced. However, the new leadership, to all appearances, has not done enough to win back the lost positions and win the trust of the people once again and not lose touch with them, making it possible for the situation to become normalized.

Circles hostile to Gorbachev and perestroyka both in the Baltic states and in Moscow have also found themselves a trump card—they are shouting about chaos and trying to lay the responsibility for the present difficulties on the leadership and on the policy of the renewal of socialism.

In this type of situation, who benefits from the statement, for example, made by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet commission, which declared "unlawful" the acts on Lithuania's joining the USSR in 1940? After all, separatists and conservative forces alike can benefit from this.

It is perfectly clear, the author stresses, that attempts are being made to torpedo the plan for perestroyka of the Soviet federative system, which is expounded in the draft CPSU platform on the party's nationalities policy in the present conditions.

Latin America & Caribbean

Trial of Cuban Interior Ministry Leaders Reported

PM3008103789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch: "Accusations Made"]

[Text] Havana, 25 August—The trial of a group of former leaders and employees of the Cuban Ministry of Internal Affairs began on Thursday evening in a special military tribunal. Charges were made against Division General Jose Abrantes Fernandez, former minister of internal affairs; Division General Pascual Martinez Gil, former first deputy minister of internal affairs; and Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar Carreno Gomez, former chief of the main customs administration.

The former leaders and employees of the ministry of internal affairs were charged with abuse of official position and irregular expenditure of state resources. Some of them were brought to trial for bribery and unlawful possession of firearms. J.A. Fernandes is also charged with negligence in official duties.

Komplektov Meets With Brazilian Official

LD2908113389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received 18 August A. Araujo Castro, chief of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry International Organizations Department, who is in Moscow in connection with the holding of Soviet-Brazilian consultations on the forthcoming 44th session of the UN General Assembly.

With a view to developing Soviet-Brazilian dialogue there was a constructive discussion of the possibilities of collaboration on major international problems. Questions of bilateral relations were also examined.

Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Political & Social

Troops Reportedly Reinforced in Nagorno-Karabakh

AU2908175689 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug 29 (AFP)—Troop reinforcements have been sent into Armenia and Azerbaijan, amid a new rise in ethnic tension that has left at least one person dead in the neighbouring southern republics, the Soviet news agency TASS announced Tuesday.

Internal Affairs Minister Vadim Bakatin was quoted by TASS as saying the situation in the autonomous enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, inside Azerbaijan, had worsened in the last week.

The enclave, which has a majority Christian Armenian population, has been troubled for the last 18 months by ethnic strife over Moslem Azeris' opposition to Armenian demands that Nagorno-Karabakh be reattached to Armenia.

Mr. Bakatin said only that the "Soviet Interior Ministry was forced to increase the number of special troops in the region," but did not specify how many more had been sent in nor where exactly they had been stationed.

Soviet Interior Ministry troops have enforced a curfew in both republics since last November.

He said activities by "criminal elements" in both Armenia and Azerbaijan had intensified, with "more frequent" armed and other attacks against Armenians and Azeris.

The minister said one person had been killed, but did not say when or where the attack took place.

He also cited "acts of vandalism and intimidation with explosives, and attacks by nationalists against buses, even some carrying women and children", though he said these particular attacks had had "no serious consequences".

More than half a milion people rallied in the center of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, on August 22 after a two-day strike called by the Azerbaijan Popular Front to push demands for "political and economic" autonomy for the republic.

The Front says increased independence is the only solution to the inter-ethnic crisis.

Karabakh Committee Member Advocates Compromise

AU2908192689 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Mathias Pongracz report on interview with "University Professor" Ashot W. Grigoryan, "member of the Armenian Karabakh Committee"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Unrest in Stepanakert, the capital of Karabakh, has increased during the past few weeks. According to statements made by Moscow, the area's population has been continually on strike for the past 4 months. Several people are reported to have been killed in bloody clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. However, no figures have been provided. [passage omitted]

We asked a member of the Armenian Karabakh Committee from Yerevan about possible solutions for the hopeless situation in this nationalist conflict.

[Begin Grigoryan recording] I think most Armenians want to take a neutral position. This means they do not want to win [words indistinct] but we are thinking of a compromise solution, namely that Karabakh can take itself out of Azerbaijan and be a district controlled by Moscow for some time. [end recording]

But only a few Armenians currently share this moderate view. Most of them support a radical annexation of Karabakh to Armenia. This is why the conflict with the Azerbaijanis is coming to a head.

Central Committee Discusses Rise in 'Tension'

NC2108142389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 20 Aug 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Newspapers report that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has met to discuss the prevailing political situation in the republic in view of a sharp exacerbation of tension. As a result of recent disruptions in Azerbaijan rail and other transportation services, there has been disarray in the supply of goods to the republic; an acute shortage of building materials, consumer goods, and fuel has developed and work at a number of projects in the earthquake zone has slowed or come to a halt. Incidents of attacks, beatings, and massacres of peaceful people in Armenian border regions have become frequent. The Armenian people regard all these developments as the direct continuation of the tragic incidents of Sumgait and manifestations of genocide.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has demanded that the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee and government protect the Armenian population of Azerbaijan by using all available means, including the full restoration of the special situation in mixed Armenian and Azerbaijani settlements. The bureau also appealed to the CPSU Central Committee requesting that it adopt the necessary measures to prevent the publication of harmful items in the press and guarantee the security of the Armenian population of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Use of Azerbaijan Language Viewed

LD2408205289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has adopted a decision on measures for guaranteeing the more active functioning of the Azerbaijani language as a state language in the republic. The decision notes that all the preconditions exist in the republic for the wider use of the native language in sociopolitical and economic life. The difficulties born of a poor knowledge of the Azerbaijani language are patently manifesting themselves in the present conditions whereby contact with the masses is particularly necessary. The staff and executives of many institutions and organizations are finding it difficult to answer applications, complaints, and requests being received in the Azerbaijani language. This, in turn, is hindering the timely answering of elementary questions.

With this decision it is planned not only to guarantee the constitutional status of the language in the republic's sociopolitical life with respect to production, internal republic correspondence, and the use of computer technology, but also to expand its cultural functions and to encourage the representatives of other nationalities to study it.

At the same time, it is envisaged to guarantee favorable conditions for the development of Russian language use and to step up the concern for the preservation and development of the languages of minorities.

Azeri Intellectuals Blamed for Tension

NC2308145389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo met on 18 August and discussed the current political situation in the republic in view of the sharp exacerbation of the situation in the region. [passage omitted]

Endorsed during a meeting with the public representatives of Baku, the publication of the Baku intelligentsia's appeal in the republican party papers BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY and KOMMUNIST and in other papers on 17 August contributed to the abrupt spread of tension. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee gave a principled political assessment of that statement. It was characterized as an irresponsible and politically harmful initiative expounding extremely dangerous appeals with harmful effects on interethnic relations.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has appealed to the Azerbaijanian Communist Party Central Committee to take immediate measures to prevent possible ill-considered actions and activities of irresponsible people whose aim is to deliberately incite emotions and passions and to exacerbate the situation in the region. It was considered imperiative to initiate constructive bilateral dialogue at all levels.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Comittee Politburo pointed out that in these extremely complex and tense moments an enormous responsibility falls on all the communists in the republic, on the workers, rural population, intellectuals, and public organizations regarding the future of reconstruction, the security of life of the citizens, and protection of constitutional guarantees. It called on them to exhibit prudence and not to succumb to plots that might lead to new complications in interethnic relations. [passage omitted]

The Armenian Communist Party Politburo expressed the conviction that Armenian SSR workers would approach the situation with understanding, and with their labor, orderliness, and composure contribute to the democratization and restructuring of the country and refrain from actions that might deepen the alienation between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. [passage omitted]

Russian Workers Support Azerbaijanis

LD3008101789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0104 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Workers of Russian nationality from the Construction Mechanization Directorate of the Azernik Construction Trust have appealed to the USSR people's deputies. The appeal states:

We representatives of the Russian nation are living and working in our native multimillion city of Baku. Events taking place at present in the republic are worrying all of us. For this reason, we, who constitute a segment of the population of the republic numbering nearly half a million people, cannot remain aloof to the sufferings and worries of those who fled Armenia. One can say there are no Azerbaijinis there. We demand that the extremist actions of certain groups who are aggravating the interethnic relations in the region be ended.

We also would like to point out that certain broadcasts on central television and certain materials published in the central press are one-sided. In these broadcasts and materials there is subjectivity in describing the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

The Nagorno-Karabakh problem does not exist and cannot exist. The territory of Nagorno-Karabkah has always belonged to the Azerbaijanis, although representatives of other nationalities have lived together with the local Azerbaijanis. Now what has happened is that they want to expel the hospitable and loving hosts from their native home.

Living here in Azerbaijan one never thought that the fires of interethnic hostility could flare up in our multinational republic. This disasterous fire cannot be allowed to strengthen. We want to give our children a feeling of love for the native land and for all those who live on this soil. For this reason, we must sincerely demand that an end be put to the actions of the extremists.

Nobody's blood must be shed anymore. The honorable, loving, and hard-working people of Azerbaijan must live and work in peace. This is their legal right and this right must be protected. This is the just demand of the people of Azerbaijan. In this task, we residents of Russian nationality support the fraternal Azerbaijani people.

With deep respect and wishes,
Guseva, Osipova, Isakova, Potyomkin, Yakovlev, Bezanov, Dekalin, Treuskiy and others—there are 35 signatures altogether.

Further on Appeal by Russians

NC2308212789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] The Russian workers of specialized mechanization administration No 8, which is affiliated with the Baku Main Construction Administration, have conveyed the following appeal to the USSR people's deputies:

We live and work together with the Azerbaijanis and with the representatives of the other peoples of the Soviet Union in international Baku city. We lived peacefully and no one discriminated against anyone because of his ethnic standing before nationalist extremists created the Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] problem.

However, because the central organs, including the central press, adopted an unprincipled approach to the problem, interethnic discord began to deepen. More than 160,000 Azerbaijanis left the Armenian homes they were born in within a short period of time. Refugees appeared in the republic itself. [Word indistinct] people in Stepanakert and the other residential areas in NKAO were forced to leave their places of birth.

We Russians can say that the rights of the other peoples in Azerbaijan, including Armenians, have never been touched. On the contrary, the rights of the Azerbaijanis themselves are being touched. For example, the Azerbaijani language, which according to the republic's Constitution is the state language, has been completely encumbered. Problems related to social development and life accumulated over decades. Child mortality rate in the republic is high. There are not enough hospitals, schools, and kindergartens. A serious ecological situation has emerged in many cities and rayons.

We recall how the people of Azerbaijan joined the entire Soviet people in defending the USSR, which is our common homeland, during the great war for the homeland. One of every three sons of the people of Azerbaijan was killed in the battlefronts during the bloody [words indistinct].

It is particularly sad during the present era of security that blood is being shed and people are being killed. This cannot be allowed.

Problems, including interethnic problems, must be resolved through joint effort. The steadfast forces of the republic are ready to assist NKAO as much as they can. Regardless of which people's representatives live in NKAO, every inch of that land is sacred to the republic's people. Multinational Azerbaijan, where 500,000 Russians live, must not be allowed to be engulfed by the flames of interethnic discord.

We call on you to safeguard Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's sovereignty and halt the instigations of the extremists, who have greatly exaggerated the NKAO problem, caused significant bloodshed, and created numerous problems for the region's people.

Stepanakert Rally Reviews Strike Situation

NC2308112989 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Unattributed report from Stepanekert]

[Text] The congress of the plenipotentiary representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has called on the oblast's workers to terminate their strikes, and has instructed the national council to take every measure possible to restore a regular work pace throughout the oblast. At the initiative of the national council, a sanctioned meeting was held in Stepanakert's Victory Square. All the speakers expressed support for the deliberations and decisions of the congress of the plenipotentiary representatives. The rally participants welcomed the congress decision to set up a national council. The rally also examined the congress call for the strike to terminate. Labor collective meetings are being held in the industrial enterprises and establishments during which concrete suggestions are being made for the termination of the strike. It has been 4 months now that enterprises have been closed and that equipment and technology have remained idle. [passage indistinct] Now the equipment in these enterprises is being put into order, and work is going on to provide the factories with raw materials and to restore the technical and economic base. Already the transportation and construction collectives have partially returned to work. The national council is taking every measure needed to restore the regular work pace in the oblast.

NKAO Congress Sets Up National Council

NC1808184489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Unattributed report: "Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: An Imperative Step"]

[Text] As we have reported, a congress of plenipotentiary representatives of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] convened in Stepanakert on 16 August. The delegates, whose views were reflected in the endorsed declaration, stated in their speeches that the will of the NKAO Armenian population—which had raised the just demand of reunification of the autonomous oblast with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic—is grounded in the sacred right of each nation to shape its own destiny and to guarantee its economic, social, and cultural development. The introduction of the special administration form in the oblast deprived the NKAO of the party oblast committee and of the oblast soviet of people's deputies and thus virtually wrested from the autonomous oblast even its negligible rights. The congress' declaration stated that that section of the country's Constitution that empowers the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to introduce the special administration form to protect the security of the citizens does not, however, reserve for it the right to terminate the functions of the soviets. For its case, the regulations of the CPSU do not provide for the dissolution of the party oblast committee. The delegates were unanimous in the opinion that the special administration committee, in its present form and with its governing mechanism and mandates, is not in a position to extricate the oblast from the critical situation. This is shown by the 4-month strikes and the very living conditions of the people that are on the physical and [word indistinct] [?breaking point]. So far there has been no end to the instigations of the opponents to the solution of the Karabakh problem who are deepening the already tense interethnic atmosphere in the region.

The congress elected a 78-member national council whose priority objectives will be the stabilization of the NKAO situation, the prevention of ethnic conflicts, the restoration of the labor rhythm, and the restitution of good-neighborly relations between the representatives of all the national and ethnic groups.

The delagates expressed their regrets that the Azerbaijanian side had declined to participate in the deliberations of the congress and thus was unable to utilize the real posibilities for the mutual (?rapprochement) and the solution to the old problems together through parliamentary means.

The first session of the national council was held and Vachagan Santuri Grigoryan, USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Marduninskiy party rayon committee, was elected chairman. Vladimir Ayrapetovich Tovmasyan, a member of the NKAO special administration form and chairman of the oblast's People's Control Committee, and Valery Abgarovich Atajanyan, first secreatry of the Stepanakert party city committee, were elected as his deputies.

The national council for its part elected from amongst its members a 17-member presidium to administer the work ahead. The national council and the its presidium, in accordance with CPSU laws and regulations and acting within the framework of Soviet laws in the interest of the people, are conducting themselves through the local soviets of people's deputies, party committees, soviets of komsomol, and labor collectives and public organizations.

The congress called on the the commandant of the special situation, the interior troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, and all the servicemen in the subunits of the Soviet Army to actively cooperate with the population for the speedy restoration of peace in the region.

The congress also passed an appeal addressed to the Azerbaijanian people. It expressed concern for the growing alienation of the two neighboring peoples. The congress called on the Azerbaijanian people to show reciprocal respect toward each others' inalienable rights and to take concrete steps that would ensure a peaceful future for our children who will have to live and work on these lands in the future.

The congress also expressed its resolve to consistently request the reunification of the NKAO with Soviet Armenia and appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet not to delay the radical solution of the problem any longer.

The congress called on the oblast's population to terminate the strikes and instructed the national council to take all measures necessary to restore the normal work pace in the entire oblast.

Paper's 'Superficial' Article on NKAO Criticized

NC2108140089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has decided to publish a series of articles on the nationality issue under the rubric "Nationality Issue." The honor of inaugurating the new series fell to someone named Musaliyev who, it could be said, did a disservice to the renowned paper. His article, devoted to the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], dealt with the matter in a superficial, subjective, and tendentious way. He clearly had one goal: to turn facts upside down by blurring the distinction between cause and effect, and placing the victim and the executioner on the same level and then calling on them to work for peace and friendship between them.

Aramais Sarkisyan, war veteran and member of the USSR Journalists Union, responded to this article with one in KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN entitled (?"Testimony of Truth"). It is necessary to contribute in every way possible to the speedy, civilized, and just solution of the NKAO problem, instead of [words indistinct]. Justice will allow for no reservations; it is necessary to be unswervingly guided by Lenin's principle of national self-determination and not by [words indistinct].

Azerbaijani Officials Meet Railroad Workers

NC2408212989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting between leading officials from various cities and rayons and Azerbaijani railroad workers examined ways to maintain stable work in the republic's railroad network, increasing the responsibility of the leading officials of [word indistinct], and upgrading the role of Communists in the work collectives. Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

It was noted that despite the measures taken by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government, the political situation remains unstable. Instigations by extremists, who fan the flames of interethnic discord, continue without interruption. An effort is being made to sever the links between the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Azerbaijan and to create a confrontation between two peoples. Many of the (?measures taken) to establish order in the region have failed to produce the desired results. [passage indistinct]

The participants in the meeting noted that many problems have accumulated in the Azerbaijan railroad network, including [words indistinct] and cadre problems. The question of increasing concern for human beings must [words indistinct]. A great deal depends on the leading production officials in the fulfillment of the tasks. They must not only learn a lesson from [word indistinct] and economic matters but also act as the elders and the [word indistinct] of their own collectives.

The conviction was expressed that the railroad workers will fulfill their obligations as citizens and as (?workers) in the future. They will maintain uninterrupted movement along the tracks.

Concern Expressed for Armenians in Azerbaijan

NC2208091589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] The complex and critical situation prevailing in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the oppression of and violence committed against Armenians in Baku and other cities and regions of Azerbaijan, the complete blockade of the oblast by the Azeris, and other illegal Azeri actions have caused deep concern and uneasiness in our capital and the republic. The republic's workers support the just rights of the Artsakh [NKAO] section of the Armenian people and at the same time condemn the barbarity and savagery being instigated against the Armenians in the NKAO and Azerbaijan to undermine the just solution of the Artsakh problem by further exacerbating the situation; they resolutely demand that such actions cease. The party, soviet, Komsomol, and trade union aktiv meeting of Spandaryanskiy Rayon was devoted to the measures that could be taken by the workers of Armenia under the prevailing conditions in the oblast and in the region. It endorsed an appeal addressed to the Armenian communist party central committee. Expressing concern over the grave situation in the NKAO and the threat to the Armenian population of Azerbaijan's physical existence, the appeal stated that the rayon's party members and entire population expect that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee will immediately inform the country's highest administrative body about this situation and will take relevant measures.

Resumption of Economic Activity Urged

NC2308131089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] The peculiar yardstick for the restoration of the rhythm of work in Stepanakert is the square facing the party city committee building, writes an ARMENPRES reporter. Whenever popular emotions here seethed, as was the case every day during the last strike, then it meant that the enterprises of the oblasts center were not working. On the morning of August 22, there was almost no one in that square because the workers preferred to go to their enterprises and call for the necessity to return to work. More than half of the work collective at the Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO] electrotechnical factory of the Luys production unit had gathered in the factory. The situation was the same at the construction materials combine; here, the preliminary work to resume operations has commenced. In particular, the lathes are functioning in the [name indistinct] factory.

After more than three months of interruption, the people of Stepanakert had the opportunity to use consumer services; cultural organizations and shops have resumed operations. Transportaion service is gradually expanding after its workers returned to work yesterday.

However, it is too early to predict the rhythm of work will fully resume in the next few days. The belief in the usefulness of the strike, which is grounded in the uncertainty of an eventual solution to the NKAO problem, still has a hold. It was therefore no coincidance that most of the workers left their workshops. The members of the national council, party, soviet, and Komsomol aktiv, and directors of the enterprises, organizations, and establishments are undertaking massive work to explain issues to the people in this complex situation. The meetings with the people are taking place on the city streets. Stepanakert residents must realize that there is no more pressing problem at present then the speedy resumption of normal economic activity in the oblast's center. [passage indistinct]

Donations To Assist Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

NC2408211989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] All residents of our republic wholeheartedly support the appeal of Azerbaijan's intellectuals on the situation that has been created in Nagorno-Karabakh. The participants in solidarity meetings in large residential areas and work collectives in Sumgait have undertaken a social initiative to assist residents of Shusha and Khodzhaly, and, in fact, Nagorno-Karabakh as a whole. They also expressed support for the views of Azerbaijan's intellectuals and social representatives and called for the unity of all the people of Azerbaijan against the evil intentions of ethnic forces that are opposed to restructuring. In that regard, an account has been opened with the USSR housing and social development bank's branch in Sumgait. The account number is 17-04-17

The metallurgical workers of the Azerbaijan metal pipes factory named after Lenin immediately deposited 200,000 rubles in the account opened to assist Nagorno-Karabakh. The work collectives have transferred more than 500,000 rubles to the fund thus far.

Temporary Azerbaijan Crime Committee Meets

NC2908121289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The temporary committee for combatting crime held its first meeting under El'mira Kafarova, Chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting heard briefings from Internal Affairs Minister Makhmudov and Ismaylov, Azerbaijan SSR Procurator, on the (?situation) in the struggle waged against crime.

It was noted that the incidents in and around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have greatly (?contributed toward) more crime in the republic. In view of this, the temporary committee's meeting deemed it essential that additional measures be put into effect quickly to halt activities which conflict with society, and to maintain the security [words indistinct] of the citizens, safeguard citizens' constitutional rights, and improve the situation.

Concrete proposals were made during the meeting for the committee's (?forthcoming organization).

Comrades Vagif Guseynov and Sahib Alekperov; Afrand Dashdamirov, Chairman of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee State Legal Committee; R. Agayev, Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions; and others addressed the convocation.

New Azerbaijan Journal To Be Published

LD2408195489 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 11 Aug 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Why has the multiple-volume "History of Azerbaijan" not been published yet? Will the question of the state language of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] be discussed at the republic's Supreme Soviet session? How will the food program be implemented in the republic? Who are Meskhetian Turks? Answers to these questions that interest every resident of our republic can be found in the first issue of DIALOG, the journal of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee. DIALOG will be published to replace the TASHVIGAT journal, as decided by the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee. [passage omitted]

As with previous publications, DIALOG will be published in both Azeri and Russian.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Discusses Situation

LD2908204689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Excerpts] A session of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet opened in Kishinev today. Here is our correspondent I. Petkov.

[Petkov] The session of the Supreme Soviet, thanks to the work of two channels of the republic's television and radio, was brought into every plant, collective farm, village, and town. There is particular tension at striking enterprises. [passage omitted] [video shows street scenes, machinery in an empty workshop]

From the very beginning, during discussion of the agenda, certain deputies proposed that the work of the session should be halted and that a nationwide referendum should be held on the draft laws on languages. During voting a significant majority of deputies turned down this proposal. But another view was taken into consideration—to discuss the social and political situation in the republic. As was stressed by the chairman of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet Presidium, it is extremely tense. Recently, instead of a consolidation of the population on the basis of friendship and mutual respect for the national feelings and interests of each and every person, a polarization of forces and various layers and groups of the working people in the republic has been taking place. The session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is continuing. Discussion of very important draft laws is continuing, and a considered approach, sober-mindedness, and state wisdom is required of every participant, because the development of Soviet Socialist Moldavia will greatly depend upon what kind of decisions are made by the deputies.

Language Debate Begins

PM2908141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent E. Kondratov report: "Session Begins"]

[Text] The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet's 13th session opened 29 August.

Deputies decided to begin the session by discussing the republic's increasingly complex sociopolitical situation. A report on this topic was delivered by M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. On behalf of all the deputies the session adopted an appeal to all Moldavian working people.

The deputies then discussed the main item on the agenda. The report on the Moldavian SSR draft laws "On the Reversion of the Moldavian Language to the Latin Script," "On the Status of the Official Language of the Moldavian SSR," and "On the Use of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR" was delivered by M. Snegur. Then deputies heard a report from I. Kalin, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, who set out the main principles of the draft state comprehensive program governing the use of languages on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

Further on Discussion

LD2908133589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1238 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev, 29 Aug (TASS)—The session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Soviet Moldavia (republic in the southwest of the country) began work today in a complex situation, which has arisen as a consequence of the disagreement on the part of the nonindigenous population with individual provisions in the draft language laws submitted for examination by the session.

For this reason it was decided to include the question of the sociopolitical situation in the republic as the first item on today's agenda. The information delivered by Mircha Snegur, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia, notes that there are already more than 80,000 workers taking part in the strikes that began on the run-up to the session.

A substantial part of the working class are non-Moldavians, but on the whole, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Gagauz, and Jews make up more than 37 percent of the population of Moldavia. They consider unacceptable that, along with giving the Moldavian language the status of state language, it is planned to elevate it to the rank of language of interethnic communication on Moldavian territory.

Without having found their proposals in the draft language laws, the working collectives of more than 100 enterprises have resorted to strikes. Their main demands are that, along with Moldavian, the Russian language be given the status of state language, and also that the latter be used as the language of interethnic communication on Moldavian territory.

Taking account of the tense situation in the republic, parliamentary deputies adopted an appeal to the working people of Moldavia. They assured the electorate that they intend not only to study and analyze all the population's remarks, proposals, and views, and to give them maximum consideration.

Moldavian Union Holds Founding Meeting

PM2408140089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Eduard Kondrator dispatch: "Labor Collectives Unite"]

[Text] Kishinev—An organizational meeting of the new social organization "The Union of Working People of Moldavia" was held here. The union was founded by nearly 100 labor collectives from various cities in the republic.

At its first meeting, the new organization, which resolved to unite the labor collective councils of enterprises, approved a declaration expounding its program principles. Alongside provisions on the need to accelerate the transfer of real power to the soviets, the granting of genuine autonomy to enterprises, and the development of the multiplicity of forms of socialist ownership, a great deal of attention is paid in the declaration to problems of interethnic relations. The union is appealing for real equality between all citizens of the republic regardless of their nationality or the language they speak. A resolute rejection of any kind of violence or mutual intolerance is expressed. The declaration contains a demand to increase accountability for attempts to fuel discord between peoples.

The union of working people expressed its intention to influence the course of economic perestroyka in the republic.

Moldavian Deputy Premier, Other Official Named

PM2408152989

[Editorial Report] Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian on 3 August publishes on page 3 two Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees, both dated 2 August in Kishinev and signed by M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and D. Nidelku, member of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The first decree calls for "Comrade Stanislav Ivanovich Moroz to be appointed deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers," and the second calls for "Comrade Nikolay Dmitriyevich Polyakov to be appointed chairman of the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs."

Further on Baltics Response to CPSU Statement

LD2908114689 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Correspondents of the news agencies of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia report:

Vilnius—the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee at a plenum on Monday [28 August] evening urged the republican population "to soberly realise that Lithuania is politically and economically integrated within the USSR".

"We believe it is possible to be a free and sovereign state within the union of equal republics," it said in an address in connection with the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics.

The plenum added that historical understanding must not be used to inflame political passions.

"Regardless of the motives cited by extremist forces for their actions, they are actually directed against the Lithuanian Communist Party and government and represent an effective brake on perestroika, as demonstrated by the present situation," the address said.

Riga—Separatist as well as anti-Soviet, nationalist and chauvinist sentiments are really in evidence in Latvia, the bureau of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee admitted in a statement issued on Monday evening.

It decided to stress once again "that our position remains unchanged: We are for a sovereign Latvia within a markedly updated Soviet federation and for new status for the Latvian Communist Party as an integral part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union".

"In our activities we shall continue to press for furthering perestroika and democratising society and, with this aim, to conduct dialogue with all mass organisations and movements and cooperate with those that favour fundamentally renovating socialism and support revolutionary perestroika," the bureau said.

Tallinn—Estonia Communist Party Leader Vaino Valas criticised demands for the republic's seccession from the USSR as "irresponsible" moves "which can only harm the interests of the Estonian people".

Speaking on Estonian Radio and Television on Monday in connection with the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics, he said that separatist demands" are in sharp contradiction with the international situation marked by detente, a humanist outlook and backing for the Soviet Union's perestroika".

The Estonian Communist Party, he said, "proceeds from the premise that Estonia is part and parcel of the Soviet Union as a sovereign republic and that its development is tied in with the continued democratisation of the USSR, radical reorganisation of the Soviet federation and restoration of the Leninist principles of the self-determination of nations on the basis of democratic legal guarantees".

Reader Fears Baltic Secession

PM2908140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Reader's letter under the general heading "Reactions to the CPSU Central Committee Statement": "We Must Decide Our Own Destiny"]

[Text] I listened intently to the CPSU Central Committee statement on the political situation in the Baltic republics, broadcast on the program "Vremya." I am sure that the no one in our republic or in neighboring Lithuania and Estonia will have been unaffected by the document. Of course, people will have different ideas about its content—some will support it, others will not. Personally, I fully support the statement's appeal to the peoples of the Soviet Baltic republics to be sensible and to solve the urgent crop of problems of interethnic relations in a constructive way. But I believe that the statement should have been issued earlier.

I very often have the enormous pleasure of meeting with students, talking about the strength of Lenin's ideas, the ideas of the revolutionary transformation of life. We party veterans led working people to the struggle for social and political liberation. The era we are now in is also a time of revolutionary restructuring. The statement is very correct when it says that we cannot and must not give extremist-, nationalist-minded elements the opportunity to use democracy and glasnost to attain their own goals. We, communists, patriots of the Soviet homeland, and working people oppose them.

Indeed, we want our native Latvia to be a strong and free republic in alliance with the other fraternal republics. Indeed, we are perfectly well aware that the distortion of Lenin's nationalities policy and departmental diktat have done much damage to all Latvian people, and people have many grievances. Can one remain unmoved by the mass deportation of the local populace, a considerable proportion of whom were innocent victims? How grim it was—mentally and physically. I know from my own experience: I was among those who were cut through by the ruthless plow of Stalin's repressions. But I have always believed even at the grimmest times in my life: No one will manage to compromise the cause of the Communist Party, or Lenin's idea.

It is a great pity that there are people in our republic today who are prepared to blame the Soviet authorities and the Communist Party for all the problems. We have made mistakes, of course, sometimes very serious ones. But the perestroyka that was started by the party is demonstrating its high morale and the great strength of its ideas. It is the party that is proposing specific ways of tackling the difficult situation. Is it possible not to notice this, not to see it? The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a law on the transfer of all the Baltic republics to republican economic accountability, and Estonia and Lithuania have been granted economic independence. And what interesting and promising measures connected with granting genuine sovereignty to all Soviet republics are outlined in the draft CPSU platform! It is extremely odd, even painful to hear talk about the Baltic republics' quitting the USSR. Who needs it, who would benefit? In my view, such a decision would cause Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians much harm.

When I was listening to the CPSU Central Committee statement, it occurred to me there there was no hint of a threat in it, no intimidation—on the contrary, what what I heard was a sincere, humane, party appeal for balanced and thoroughly considered decisions. That is very important.

It is also right, in my opinion, to criticize the leadership of the republic's party organizations, who have failed to keep pace with the rapidly developing events and have not always provided a principled assessment of extremist statements. I think that we communists must draw a conclusion from this. Each one of us must clearly define his life and party stance. On 30 August we, the members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, will meet again and continue the work of the plenum and will choose from the four alternatives we have already discusssed the final version of an action program for our party organization in the current conditions. I am sure that the mobilizing spirit of the CPSU Central Committee statement will affect our decision and aid the

cohesion of party ranks and successful fulfillment of the difficult mission entrusted to us by the times.
[Signed] M. Krustynson, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU since 1912. Riga.

Sajudis Chairman Responds to Statement

LD2908233389 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Today Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis, has made a television address to the Lithuanian people. Here are its highlights:

The statement of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on the current situation in Lithuania has resulted in political uncertainty, excitement, and speculation. It contained a great (?dose) of falsehood and [was] aimed at intimidating and insulting us. Public unrest, vociferous meetings, division, and setting one against another is what they want. Yet the Baltic people [words indistinct] the more they know they are right.

The commission of our Supreme Soviet has clearly defined who was who in the years 1939-1940. The response is vicious anger. No arguments but a strong fist instead. We should shun assaults from both sides. The Baltic wave was allegedly an expression of nationalist hysteria. We feel sorry for the people thus mislead. Close on a million people joined hands in the Baltic way in order to recall our martyrs, to call for justice and freedom.

Apart from the Balts, Russians, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians joined us. The Moscow statement among other things extends an invitation to a dialogue. So let's write letters. If hostile ones are published that will be an ominous sign. If (?most controversial) then a dialogue is under way. Let's show our community of interest and dignity. Let the Baltic way be the way of creative labor, sobriety, and endurance.

Sajudis Views Future of Lithuania

LD2908232789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Today the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis' Vilnius Council and the Vilnius Workers' Councils released an appeal to the Lithuanian people.

The appeal expresses concern over Lithuania's future since the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee views peaceful perestroyka processes in the republic with suspicion, distrust and annoyance. No less troublesome are threats of the Russian-speaking population in Lithuania to take industrial action directed against the already adopted laws or those still being drafted.

Our new laws are called upon to ensure legal and constitutional advance toward a law-governed, democratic, and soveriegn Lithuanian state. The Sajudis people of Vilnius and the Workers' Union appeal to workers and engineers and urge them to work out measures so that in case of strikes work does not stop and no harm is done to Lithuania's economy.

Our strength lies in our determination and our rightness, says the appeal.

Estonian Party Spokesman Cited

LD2908141789 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Communist Party Central Committee has published a statement on the situation in the Baltic republics. [passage omitted] Petr Vasiliyev comments:

[Vasiliyev] [Passage omitted] I telephoned the Estonian Communist Party's Central Committee spokesman, (Peeter Sookruus), to ask him to tell more about the reaction to the statement in the republic.

[Begin (Sokkruus) recording in vernacular fading into English translation] The statement has been regarded as a very important document for us. We understand the Central committee's concern over the serious situation in the country. At the same time it is hard to understand what information has prompted some assessments made in the document on the situation in the Baltic republics, including the action to mark the anniversary of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact on 23 August. [end recording]

(Peeter Sookruus) went on to say that there were mass rallies in Estonia on that day; hundreds of thousands of people attended the meetings. He believed the actions could not be assessed unequivocally as separatist. In his view that was the expression of will by the peoples of the three Baltic republics. True, some right-wing nationalistic slogans were shouted, but they were not on a mass scale, nor did they set the tone.

The aim of that action was to condemn Stalinism, Stalinist crimes, Stalin's foreign policy shortly before the war. Everything passed peaceful and calmly. Taking part in the action were the president, premier, the party officials of all ranks, and they spoke at the meetings.

(Peeter Sookruus) emphasized that the republic had taken the statement very seriously. The Estonian Communist Party's Central Committee meets for a full-scale session this week. The Central Committee's Bureau met on Monday already. Its leadership will voice its position over the statement and the situation in Estonia.

I asked [as heard] (Peeter Sookruus) that earlier such an address used to be backed up by something repressive. Any fear of that in this situation? (Peeter Sookruus) again:

[Begin (Sookrus) recording in vernacular fading into English translation] I think such times have gone. Anything like this would be the revival of old practice that nearly led us to deadlock, to complete alienation between ethnic groups, between nations, between the

Party and masses. I think there is no alternative to a calm and reasonable analysis of all the events and mistakes. [end recording]

(Peeter Sookruus) said that he regarded as number one mistake the failure to make the non-Estonian population feel confident in the republic. He emphasized that this uncertainty had been taken advantage of by those who are nostalgic about the times of alleged Stalin's family of nations—formal and sham manifestations of internationalism and friendship—underlined the Estonian Communist Party's Central Committee spokesman, (Peeter Sookruus). [passage omitted]

As it seems to me, every one of us has a painful problem to talk over. But isn't it only logical that we could be relieved of our common pain through treating each other's individual painful memories of the past mistakes?

Estonia's Vyalyas Views Statement

LD2908163689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Now here is an interview given today to our correspondent Heymar Lenk by Vajno Iosipovich Vyalyas first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Lenk] How would you describe the political situation in Estonia?

[Vyalyas] The political situation in our republic is varied and complex. The Central Committee statement on the position in the Baltic republics has just been published. Naturally, it is now the center of attention, both of the republican party organization, every communist, every labor collective, and every inhabitant of Soviet Estonia.

We must understand that the perception of that statement is varied. Why? Because everyone views that statement, every line of that statement, through the prism of their own, subjective perception. On a broad level we can say that the perestroyka processes are firmly and irreversibly in progress in Estonia. We have joined these processes without a backward glance. We are moving ahead. At times our initiatives do not find full understanding and support. But they are dictated at all times by an aspiration to ensure that the question of Lenin's concept of self- determination, of sovereignty, of the federalism of Soviet republics should truly have its specific content.

Separatism is not our slogan as we have always said, and will say that yes, Soviet Estonia will be in the composition of the Soviet Union, while always stressing that we have in mind and see precisely a renewed—renewed by perestroyka—union and federation. I should like to say again, in looking at the matter of the Baltic republics, we should nevertheless see here three separate republics. Each of these republics has its own problems, its specific features, and so forth.

But I should like to say that perestroyka is under way in Estonia. Our enterprises are working calmly in Estonia, although political problems are being discussed very animatedly.

[Lenk] Can you tell me, does the public, in your view, have an objective picture of the processes which are now underway in Estonia?

[Vyalyas] Here I must be very laconic and say no it does not. Why? There is a great deal of misinformation and a great many things that are simply creating a perfectly complex stereotype of Estonia. To understand present Estonia, Soviet Estonia, there needs to be both goodwill here, and on the other hand a desire to understand that Estonia is the only place in the world where there exists our national culture, our national traditions, and where the Estonian nation lives. Mutual understanding, tolerance, and compromise in complex questions should be the slogan today. Ultimatums, inconsidered expressions, especially insulting to the national dignity of any nation living in Estonia, are not permissible. Therefore I should like to say once again that a good understanding must both be the foundation for broad information, and the apotheosis, probably, of our brief conversation. Estonia and perestroyka are one and the same concepts. [end recording]

Latvian Attitudes Viewed

LD2908193189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Because we are talking now about the situation in the republics of the Soviet Baltic and the reactions there to the statement of the CPSU Central Committee, I want to acquaint you with a dispatch by Ninel Meshkun, a correspondent of All-Union Radio in Riga.

She reported that today a session was held of the Buro of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee which discussed a draft action program by the republic's Communist Party along the path of perestroyka and specific businesslike proposals for priority measures, the enactment of which would help stabilize the political situation in the republic. In particular, they include preparing for elections to the local soviets and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. As is known, the national minorities are also very seriously discussing this question. It is a question of proposals to recommend that the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium review the question of working out a draft law guaranteeing their rights and of holding the second forum of the peoples of Latvia in September.

Of course, primary attention was paid to discussing the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics, which leaves no one indifferent in the republic today. It must be said that attitudes to the statement in Latvia are varied. Many consider that the CPSU Central Committee's alarm is fully justified, and the assessments of the situation fully just. However, it is noted that it would be more correct to make differing assessments of the situation for each republic, because many processes in Latvia are proceeding more constructively than with their neighbors.

Others assert that there is no political crises in the republic, there are no violent clashes, and therefore the assessments in the statement are not accurate in relation to Latvia.

The most sober assessment is contained in the decision by the Buro of the republic's Communist Party. It notes that in Latvia there are indeed manifestations of separatism and also anti-Soviet, nationalist, and chauvinistic feelings, which must be given a principled rebuff by communists. At the same time, it is stressed that one of the most important patriotic and internationalist causes of communists and all working people of Latvia is work to improve the economy and to improve people's lives.

With all the variety of views, voices are growing increasingly strong saying that there is not a more rational way of acting than to consolidate healthy forces. Any manifestation of national egoism leads to deadlock, leads to a split in society, and to exacerbating the situation; as a result it poses a threat to perestroyka not only in the Baltic republics, but also in the country at large. Therefore, as is stressed in the CPSU Central Committee statement, communists are required to show valour in specific deeds, party comradeship, and unification of forces, outside which and without which neither nationality nor interethnic problems can be solved.

Latvian Party 'Agitated' by Statement

LD2908213189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Ninel Kasyanova] Today the Buro of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee is discussing proposals—specific, businesslike proposals—for implementing measures, a whole program of measures, the implementation of which would help stabilize the political situation in the republic. These include preparations for elections to the local soviets and for elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet. As is known, particular attention is also being paid to these problems by the social opponents. They also include a recommendation that the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium discuss the question of drawing up a draft law on guaranteeing the rights of national minorities of the Latvian SSR, and holding the second forum of the peoples of Latvia in September. Of course, everyone has been agitated by the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics.

[V.A. Stefanovich, deputy editor in chief of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA newspaper, in video interview with Kasyanova] I would like to call attention to the aspect, which, to a certain extent, also came through in the statement from the party Central Committee—that is intolerance to the opinion of others. I can cite a specific example with regard to our newspaper. Last year, when informal organizations were being formed, they issued appeals for our paper to be closed down—it is the organ of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, published in Russian. Why? Because the viewpoints set out in our paper did not coincide with the points of view of the informals. Then we were also condemned by the Latvian Popular Front, whose positions on a whole range of issues were not supported by the newspaper which expressed different viewpoints.

I think that one can understand such a proposal from the informals, but it is amazing that it found support at the plenum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee directly or indirectly. This is a violation of the traditions which have arisen in the Soviet press since its inception.

[Kasyanova] But this is not yet the support of all members of the Central Committee.

[Stefanovich] No, I would like to say that only individual utterances were made. But overall, the party Central Committee's action program advocated setting up a single party central committee newspaper but in translation of course. I think that this is the wrong approach. This would lead—if such a decision followed and I think that it will not—only to an exacerbation of inter-ethnic relations and would be tantamount to discrimination against the Russian-speaking population of the republic.

[I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, in video interview with Kasyanova] We are on the eve of our party Central Committee plenum and since May we have been working on the draft action program of the Communist Party of Latvia. Naturally, the latest statement by the CPSU Central Committee introduces serious corrections, and the tendencies which are in principle reflected in the document correspond with reality. We, too, are alarmed at certain manifestations in our republic. True, the statement was given a varied reception. if one speaks in this context, we would have liked perhaps for the situation in each of the Baltic republics to have been given separately and differentiated. While some processes are similar, there are still very large differences in the development of the internal political situation in our republic.

I would like to say that the preparation of the plenum and the action program demonstrate support for the Communist Party and that we are in control of the situation. Of the document itself, alarm and concern should become greater alarm for us, for communists, especially in the primary organisations. We must discuss it. Naturally we see that perestroyka lies only in a socialist federation, giving a more specific status to the communist party of the republic, naturally together with our other party organizations within the ranks of the CPSU. This is a very fundamental issue which is still being discussed in our republic.

Lithuanians Interviewed on Party's Role

LD2108213889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A debate has been announced in the Communist Party of Lithuania. A report by our correspondents S. Medvedev, A. Paulyus, A. Zubov.

[Correspondent] Every morning, as they open the newspapers, be they republican or local, the inhabitants of Lithuania without fail find material discussing the problems of ways of restructuring the republic's Communist Party. It represents the response by comunists to the republic's Central Committee to become involved in the debate about the status of the Communist Party. [video shows street scenes, newspapers]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The debate that has developed in the pages of journals and newspapers often spreads to the streets and squares of the city. We are now at one of these meetings. The political situation in the republic is tense, and one immediately senses this when one plunges into the atmosphere of such gigantic meetings. [video shows rally]

In your view, what should the Lithuanian Party be like?

[Unidentified woman] The Lithuanian Party should be more democratic, but united with the Soviet Union.

[Second unidentified woman] As far as I know, drafts of the program documents of our independent party are being prepared, and evidently, it seems to me, that it should separate itself from the CPSU.

[Unidentified man] Our Lithuanian Communist Party should have economic independence in resolving its own internal matters, but in principle I favor a united Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[Second unidentified man] The structure of the party, for example, economic matters, dues, and expenditure, should be dealt with at a local level.

[Correspondent] In the republic?

[Second unidentified man] Yes, in the republic. But matters such as ideology, and matters related to the overall structure and authority of the party—all this, I think, should be centralized.

[Correspondent] Excuse me. Are you a party member?

[Third unidentified man] A candidate member.

[Correspondent] There is a debate under way. What kind of party should there be in Lithuania?

[Third unidentified man] It should be independent, but within the CPSU, of course.

[Correspondent] How do you mean, independent, but within?

[Third unidentified man] It should have its program. It goes without saying that it should have its own program, in the conditions of the republic, but the rules should be the same. A person should be a comunist not territorially, but by conviction. He is a communist in Lithuania, in Latvia, and in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The views of those we spoke to were often totally opposed. This is, perhaps, a result of the fact that in the republic, the party frequently loses in the strugle to bring propaganda to many public movements. Yet most communists share the general propositions published recently in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee on the party's nationalities policy. Yes, the time is ripe for restructuring in the republics' communist parties. Yes, it is essential that they be granted the right to resolve as they see fit the main matters of party life, and to adopt their own political documents, within the framework of the CPSU program.

[Begin recording] [V.A. Berezov, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, identified by caption] [Words indistinct] every republic and every oblast is in someway different, and we have to have our own program of action: How we, Lithuanian communists, should conduct our work, bearing in mind our social forces, our specific features, and so on. So, these documents are being prepared, which will give the republican party organization the oportunity to resolve matters of cadres, structural changes, budget matters. In other words, essentially all those matters that have for a long time been dealt with in all economic organizations, and so on.

[Correspondent] But what is worrying is that many Lithuanian communists—we have become convinced—see the debate on the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party as a rough draft or search for a way out of the composition of the CPSU.

[Berezov] Well, you see, there is no such question. It is our view that there would be party independence within the CPSU. On the whole, healthy forces are actually prevalent in the Lithuanian Communist Party. [end recording] [video shows street scenes; interview with Berezov]

Brazauskas Meeting in Mazeikiai Reported

LD2908231989 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Today the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Algirdas Brazauskas, visited the Mazeikiai region. He met with the workers, educationalists, and party secretaries.

At the meeting Algirdas Brazauskas examined the current political situation in Lithuania (?and) the Baltic States and other regions of the Soviet Union. Speaking of the situation in Lithuania he called attention to great changes in national self awareness. As one of the most important aspects he singled out a principled assessment of the 1939 German-Soviet treaties and their consequences. Lithuania is one of the first union republics to implement economic self dependence and cost accounting. Algirdas Brazauskas noted a weighty contribution to perestroyka made by various public movements and organizations.

Ever more talk revolves around independence and yearn [as heard] for freedom, which found its expression in the Baltic way action on 23d August. On the other hand certain too-radically minded people, inconsiderate of the current situation, put forward demands to secede from the Soviet Union and withdraw the Soviet Army from the Lithuanian territory. These (?unpremeditated) moves can lead Lithuania to a deadlock, produce uncalled-for consequences, and stop our onward march.

The party Central Committee and the government have no illusions, said Algirdas Brazauskas, in immediate changes in the pluralism of opinions and ideas that took hold of the Lithuanian people. The party and the reform movement Sajudis unanimously agree that it is vital to consolidate all perestroyka forces and consistently implement our programs.

Speaking of economic relations, Algirdas Brazauskas said that as a part of the Soviet Union we shall improve our economic situation and make our life better exclusively on the basis of agreements with the union republics and foreign countries.

Letter Questions Foreign Press Restrictions

LD2508131089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 22, 27 May 89 p 10

[Open Letter addressd to Comrade A. Brazaitis, signed by: Director, LiSSR M. Mazvydas State Library, V. Bulavas, B. Bitkeviciene, director Vilnius University Science Library, J. Marcinkevicius, LiSSR Academy of Sciences Library, and staffers of these libraries, S. Velaviciene, K. Remeikiene, A. Brazuniene.]

[Text] Access to special collections, housed in Lithuanian libraries, has been opened a year ago. The public has regained its rights to read the materials, that have been secreted away there, for more than four decades. Librarians can rest easy, since they no longer have to explain to readers, as frequently, why one publication, or another, is not available for their use. The process of becoming acquainted with, to date, unfamiliar Lithuanian Republic, Lithuanian emigre publications and informational publications from foreign countries, that have been moved to unrestricted use areas, is taking place in overcrowded reading rooms.

Partial removal of the undemocratic restriction, of the right to read, what one was interested in, has given rise to optimism, however, during recent months, literature received from abroad, is being stamped, once again, by Lithuanian GlavLit [Main Administration For Protection of State Secrets In the Press] and being sent to special collection places. This tendency can only be regarded as a new threat against openness and democracy. The guidelines, governing selection of books for the special collections, are unclear. One gets the impression, they might depend on the subjective views of one Lithuanian Glavlit official or another. How else can one explain the fact, US published books, such as: "List of Deported Lithuanians: Stalin's Terror 1940-1941," E. Juciute's book, "Footsteps Along The Death Zone," and "Igarka's New Town," S. Rukiene's "At The Crossroads of Hungary," dedicated to reminiscences of deportation to Siberia years, are designated for the special collections, while our newspapers are full of analogous accounts and when we also, have "Land Of Permafrost?" We are concerned over Lithuanian emigre periodical press. Events in recent months attest, individual copies of AIDAI, AKIRACIAY, DIRVA, TEVISKES ZIBURIAI, and many other newspapers and journals, are finding their way into the special collections, once again. Will all readers be able to read DRAUGAS, VARPAS, LAISVOJI LIETUVA and other emigre periodical publications?

We must not tolerate this type of situation to, once again, violates, the right to free access of information. Therefore:

1. We demand, those in charge of the Main Administration For Protection of State Secrets In The Press, to make available official documents, which contain the criteria for selection of publications for the special collection.

2.. We demand, the publications, selected for special collection, feature the name rather, than the censor's number, and also the basis for the selection.

We are in agreement with the "Vaga" Publishing House appeal, by the Sajudis Support Group, (SAKALAS No 1, 1988), proposing inclusion into Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's laws of an article, that would strictly and clearly regulate Lithuanian Glavlit functions and would also guarantee the right of all citizens to have access to information.

Concurrently, we reserve the right to use the press, as well as, other means, to immediately inform the public, concerning all publications selected for special collections.

Role of Freedom in Creativity Stressed

LD2208133089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 18, 29 Apr 89 p 5

[Article by Vytautas Rubavicius, entitled "Concerning Creativity and Freedom"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Literature was, and continues to be, a means of ideological influence, and sometimes purposely, described as a weapon. It has now become evident, what a mighty weapon it truly can be, in the hands of the one in charge. Literature remained literature only by avoiding direct ideologizing, while refusing, suggested and obligatory, for Soviet literature, ideological mythology themes and maintaining certain artistic, that is, common human value criteria. This was not an easy matter, however. Let us recall the re-education process of the older generation of writers, in the postwar period: how many of the novels, written prior to 1960, can we recognize as unconditionally belonging in the golden collection of our literature? To my way of thinking, they can be counted on one hand's fingers. Yet, that generation of writers was a greatly cultured generation, it participated in Europe's cultural life. The writers, who were born or matured after the war, did not have opportunities to either acquire a normal humanitarian education or to grasp European culture: they had already become warriors, on the ideological front, who had to constantly prove the superiority and to embody those features of the Soviet man, that had been "handed down," from above. The truth, however, which must be acknowledged now, is simple: writing was carried on under conditions of a total lack of freedom. This simple truth also gives rise to a simple theme for consideration: is it possible to create culture, in the absence of creative freedom, in other words, how does one envision a combination of creativity and captivity and captive creativity? After all, creativity is traditionally viewed as the highest expression of spiritual freedom. The fact, the connection between freedom and culture is directly involved in cultural self-awareness, bears out constant efforts by us, the ideologues, to convince everyone that this freedom had thrived in our country and it is, under the existence of this true creative freedom, artists consciously serve the party, that truly expresses the goals of the people. [passage omitted]

The main themes of postwar prose consisted of class "struggle," "peasant awareness," and "prevalence of socialist relations." Currently, the class struggle concept is being demystified. It had been, however, the foundation and framework, artistic, as well as, conceptual, of every major book. Where did this theme originate? This was the ideological justification of Stalinism, comprising a certain ennoblement of these crimes: murderers and violators did not murder, violate and destroy their nation and culture, but simply expressed progressive class interests. Victims were not so much people, as classes and their unconforming with a bright future goals, that were vanishing into historical oblivion. At that time, the desire to live was most suspect, since one was not supposed to just live, but one had to live, how one was ordered to live. The orders came from afar. The class struggle myth did not begin here and neither was the kulak class born here. We might mention here also, the socialist revolution in Lithuania concept, which also demanded a contribution from artists. [passage omitted] This stage of creativity was not left untouched: it was imperative to depict the kolkhoz system's progress and development of the peasants' awareness. Awareness—was the conscious renunciation of one's farm and perception of the kolkhoz system's progressiveness. The theme of empoverished peasants' alignment with the underground, was imperative in books, depicting pre-war peasantry. It was perfectly obvious, in many of these novels, this theme was simply "sewed" on. It becomes frightful to think, it would be difficult to currently find the means of depicting prewar life, in Lithuania, if we were to suddenly reject constructions of that ideological mythology.

Understandably, current "demythologizing" is painful for many authors, since it also represents, a certain loss of meaning from their lives. [passage omitted] I have no desire to be held responsible for writing off that period in our literature. Writing was being done and works have been completed. The best books were written in cases where the ideological demands did not counter life experiences. [passage omitted]

There exist many significant facts, in our literature, that call for broad analysis. Even currently, it is essential not to give in to inertia of unmasking and demythologizing, which may turn out to be far removed from the truth later, as all opinions,that lay claim to absolute truth, do. [passage omitted] It has become quite evident, currently, prose writers made efforts to de-idealize reality, establishing a certain niche, whereby an individual could cast aside the mandatory roles and demonstrate his true self. Novel writing followed that route, also, as if making excuses, that it could not depict a generalized portrait of the Soviet man, since the genre was so narrow. This was no bed of roses. [passage omitted]

Today, it is also, difficult to discuss the not-so-distant past, because frequently, we don't know how to go about separating significant items from secondary ones and confuse elements of essential social rituals with stories of conscious participation in socialist laurels. We have experienced a tragedy, but it will take a long time to learn how to develop its perspective it, since without its perspective, we will not attain the essential aspect of its existence. [passage omitted] Many apparently significant cultural facts turn gray, without the ideological myths to shore them up and when the broken moral backbone of the nation—the peasantry becomes visible, we behold the desecration of religion and the national school. [passage omitted] Let us summon sufficient courage to exit the farcical epoch and become worthy of the suffering endured by our nation.

Role of Past and Current Literature Examined

LD2108140089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS No 18, 29 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by Juozas Aputis, entitled "At the Crossroads..."]

[Excerpts] If our present literary situation had to be defined, we would have to admit it may be the most complicated of the entire postwar period. Strange: only recently, we were excusing ourselves for not having accomplished this or that, because we were restricted (of course, no one could restrict us from thinking the way we wanted to think and from acting surreptitiously); currently, we are supposedly allowed to proclaim openly that, which has been written, however, it appears, we don't have all that much to proclaim.

Those at the top, (leadership) or near the top, during those torpid times, liked to state, certain things had come to pass in Lithuania, because it has been like a cleverly driven Noah's Ark, with conditions available for individual expression, thus they were not stashed in drawers, but were presented for public perusal. Perhaps, this was so, the question remains, however. First of all, many were thrown from Noah's Ark—some, from their number, even without a life preserver. Secondly, an ark, which had been steered along a middle course, often proclaimed false values, often levelled individuals and did not encourage open discussion of major sensitive areas.

People who yearn for the truth, concerning their parents' and their own lives, devour the memoirs of individuals who witnessed the secretive period. The memoirs are on the increase and should see, even a greater increase. This is how the literary and, more than one individual's self-awareness voids are to be filled. There exist many very talented authors of memoirs, these are talents, that had been extinguished, who have caught their breath, quite recently, and are appearing in public, only now. They seed, with their creativity, not only the neglected soil of those of us, who had been denounced and acknowledged, i. e. they tell us about that which had been hushed up and explained differently, but more than one, attests to the fact, that God has given them not only a destiny, linked considerably with the fate of their nation, but also an artistic talent. We need such literature more, than anything—it reduces us, the legal chroniclers, to size, at times, painfully presssuring us, so that only the cast-off skin may remain. Comforting cries can even be heard in the press, at times. Or, more accurately perhaps, literary recollection is not the only one to pressure us, but also the entire recent existence of past recollections, that has been speaking out in its many-faceted language, for almost a year.

We note, people are not reading nowadays, "purely" aesthetic literature. [passage omitted]

What must we do further, if we are to live in a period of openness, and if, indeed, that will come to pass, which had not yet occurred, since the war?—if the blank (perhaps, even, the black?) spots of history, will be removed from under the feet of aesthetic literature? Will it not be necessary to return to the simple things, demonstrated to us by J. Biliunas' "Brisius' End," and "I Interfered," the lyricism of V. Mykolaitis-Putinas and the tales and novel of B. Radzevicius?

So, what kind of a showing do we make, at this, not yet, totally defined crossroads, with last year's books of prose? I could sum this up, in brief, by stating: we haven't had such a rich year, for a long time. [passage omitted]

We have—reading material. Let us know how to enjoy the art forms of the books, listed here, as well as those that have not been listed, and let us not search for a bomb hidden under Stalin's or Zhdanov's chair.—our prose did have a lot in common also, with Lithuania's rural roads as well as Vilnius streets.

Estonian Communist Party Address Published

LD2908222189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: announcer-read TASS report]

[Text] The address of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has been published today in Estonian newspapers. The course for perestroyka begun by the party has opened up new possibilities for Estonia to implement its aspirations, it says. The success of the matter is only possible on a road of peaceful parliamentary reforms. Being the smallest in terms of numbers of peoples with their own union republic in the USSR, we must remember that the Estonian people have survived as a distinctive and viable nation only thanks to the ability to act sensibly in any conditions, even in the most difficult, and to avoid cancerous dangers. Therefore we call on all Estonians, and now, at a complex time for the republic, to display the self-restraint, sober-mindedness, and responsibility characteristic of the peoples, and we call on them to refrain from extremes. In today's conditions the demands to leave the USSR are irresponsible and can only bring harm to the interests of the Estonian people.

The document says: We also call upon the representatives of other peoples who have chosen the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic as their home, to understand the dialectics of the process of development here. Now, when we have worked out a course based on principle to overcome the economic crisis, when the implementation of republican financial autonomy should provide a better life for all the inhabitants of Estonia, all kinds of internal discord and opposition between ethnic groups are especially dangerous and simply fatal. Joint creative work by all inhabitants of Estonia is necesary for the success of our great humane plans, the address says.

The Estonian Communist Party understands that the representatives of other nations also need social and political guarantees and want to feel confident. We will continue changes in the republic with readiness for flexible compromise between national and social groups. Any other kind of activity, a striving to foist one's will by force, only leads to impasse threatening to paralyze real advances for a long time or to make them as a whole impossible.

Estonia's Nationality Friction Viewed

LD2908131589 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS No 22, 27 May 89 pp 2, 3

[Article by Gintaras Visockas, entitled "Long Herman's Concern."]

[Excerpts] This rough-hewn stone tower—is the tallest building in Tallin. Long Herman's walls extend to a height of 50 meters. It was constructed back in the days when impenetrable forests abounded and bright rivers flowed, in Estonia. It has defended Tallin from enemies, for over 500 years. True, this has not always been successful. The tower is a reminder, also, of times, when it was forced to fly the flags of those, who oppressed the country. Among their number were: Danes, Germans, Swedes, Russians... An attempt was made, in a Russian language textbook, published in 1987, "Tallin," (author—T. Tomberg) to prove, Estonia's annexation to czarist Russia (in 1710) was, in many ways, beneficial to the Estonians. It is a pity, the tower can't speak—it would recount for the city's visitors, the whole truth, how things really were.

On 24 February 1988, Long Herman joyfully hoisted its long-invisible, true flag on its mighty shoulders: the blue—black—white flag. [Passage omitted)

Long Herman is worried today. On 12 Apr, the newspaper MOLODYOZH ESTONIY published an article entitled "Emotions At City Hall Square." In my accustomed to seeing everyday national tri-color on Gediminas Hill opinion, it contains many sacrilegious and primitive demagoguery ideas: "I am not a communist and am not too entranced with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but I am unyielding, in this respect... Estonian fascists were shooting at Red Army soldiers, i.e. our fathers and grandfathers, under this blue—black—white flag..." Or: "It pains me to the bottom of my heart... How could the Red Flag, hoisted on Tallin's Liberation Day, 45 years ago, be taken down and be replaced by the tri-color, which had been flown during the occupation years...." Such "wisdom" and "iron-clad arguments," hold no longer true for us. True, we did experience a certain mute opposition, following October 7th. Since on holidays, the new tri-color was not always hoisted alongside the red flag, or else, it had been irreverently wound around the pole. Hate toward the tri-color was expressed, on occasion, at sports' stadiums and shooting ranges, but, it seems, no one attacked it and abused it in the press, as is being done with the Estonian flag. Yet, the situation is similar. The article also states the opinions of those loyal to the Estonian flag, and even of those, who bravely defend Estonian Government's decision to hoist it above Long Herman.

In reading this article I was reminded of my conversation with VIKERKAAR (published as RADUGA, in Russian version) Senior Editor, Reinas Veidemanas [rendered in Lithuanian]. I wanted to find out, what he, an Estonian, thought the role of the Russian language Republican publications was, and what, in his opinion, the mission of the Russian press, in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, was?

—One of extreme importance: to assist Russian and other nationality representatives, who reside in hospitable Estonia, in sensing a small nation's pain—its unwillingness to melt into a crowd of newcomers. SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and MOLODYOZH ESTONIY serve to increase the tension among nationalities residing within the Republic. Newspapers published, in Russian, do not assist those, who move into the Republic, in adapting themselves. Journalists often unfoundedly question the justice of steps taken by the Estonian Government and Estonian Popular Front (Rahvarine) and urge active resistance, by members of other nationalities. Speculation in the so-called "pluralism of opinions," goes on in every manner possible, forgetting, the existence of certain indisputable topics.

Soviet Union's "internationalists" are the same everywhere: in Tallin, Vilnius, Riga, Tbilisi.... For instance, in Estonia, in Kohtla Jarve City, they are limiting themselves, for the time being, with exhortations to hit the fascists, spit in their faces, kick them in the back and are content with defiling Estonian national symbols.

I have in mind the international evening, held in early April, at an Estonian school, where Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Hungarian and Russian students were taking part in ethnic songs and dances, until a group of Russian-speaking youths forced their way into the hall. It is interesting to note, the militia "were unable" to restrain the raging "internationalists." This was described by Eva Osa in NORTE HAAL, while Martas Tarmakas [names rendered in Lithuanian], correspondent for SIRP JA VASAR newspaper, translated the article for me and added:

—Some of the intruders addressed the public order keepers by their first names and patronymics.

The next day, I carefully read through SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and MOLODYOZH ESTONIY—eager to see how the incidents would be treated by these papers. Not a single comment. Not even the smallest mention did appear in the newspapers for the 13th, 14th or 15th.

R. Veidemanas was not surprised:

—They are not going to print anything about Kohtla Jarve.

—Every nation has its dregs. It would be of no value to judge nationality relations from this type of thing.—said the MOLODYOZH ESTONIY Deputy Editor, Albertas Maloverjanas. —We should have perhaps, printed some information about that evening, but the article in the Estonian paper reached us belatedly.

It is, of course, easy to let an Estonian article "slip by," when only one or two, editorial workers can understand the "local" language.

SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA Journalist, Eteri Kekelidze did not try to make up any excuses:

—You have noticed only the one side of the coin. Recently, many articles have appeared in the Baltic press, that, to put it mildly, are irreverent of the Russians. Quick conclusions are most often incorrect. It would be better not to make them, at all.

That same evening, I strolled about in Long Herman's vicinity. The Estonian national flag was lowered from its mast at 8:30 PM. This is based on tradition. This festive ritual was accompanied by a popular Estonian song about the Fatherland. Suddenly—some applause broke out (insinuating, at least over night, the flag, "that the Estonian bourgeoisie..." will not be flown). It struck me, I had become a witness of the tolerated biased pluralism, referred to in A. Babin's article. The Estonian national flag is stained with the blood of revolutionaries. What flag, however, bears the blood stains of the hundreds of thousands Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian martyrs and Siberian deportees?

It is not so easy to unmask expression of Russian chauvinism, in Estonia (is it any simpler anywhere else?). For example, R. Veidemanas was twice forced to remove the A. Kolberg article, published in the 2d 1989 issue of RADUGA, "Fabrication,!" It was not difficult to surmise who was interested in its suppression. The article described a 1987 incident, in Riga, near the "Ziemelblazma" House of Culture, where Russian youths teased some Latvian youths, insulting their national dignity and beating them. That is not what makes it sad, though. The author is amazed, the Latvians were accused of nationalism, as result of the incident. The real culprits and most persistent trouble makers, were not punished, unless we count the highly authoritative Komsomol organization warning issued to two Komsomol members.

An angry individual is an unhappy individual. This is how I would explain the Kohtla Jarve incident. The youths, who manhandled the Estonians in school and at night and shouted insults near Long Herman, are very unhappy. Their parents and grandparents were indoctrinated, the Fatherland was wide, so wide—"from Moscow to the very ends..."[rendered in transliterated Russian] Thus, they spread out to the outermost borders, without considering the fact, other nations, with their own languages, customs and loyalty to their native land, have lived there for ages.

The newcomers are incensed and frightened by the locals' love for their "territory," especially since, during the past year, it is no longer being concealed. The loyalty, expressed by Estonians, to the land of its forefathers, is perceived as criticism by the migrants: you abandoned your own land... Having failed to embrace local traditions "within outskirts of Russia," they feel unwanted. Naturally, the migrants are not to blame for this. It is their misfortune. They were handed the suggestion: it will not be up to you, but to those others, to have to understand, honor and love you. This is why, every current non Russian sign and each suggestion to learn a language, other than Russian, bring on such pain. Nevertheless, individuals of other nationalities, will be bound to realize, the strain in international relations is the fault of those, who are "ignorant" of behavior befitting a "guest."

Unfortunately, the majority of Russian speakers, do not stop to consider this. They are stubborn in their defense of their "rights:" they attempt to impose a model of their Fatherland on a foreign land, even if this injures the Estonians' rights. This is what the "Interdvizheniya" program of action comprises: we are for Estonia, but it is to be an Estonia without citizenship, without a state language, without laws to limit migration, without national military units, without a national flag... It follows, it is to be without Estonians, also. The most visible position of the occupiers, leaves only one right for the Estonians that of—disappearance.

"Internationalists" are striving to achieve all these "without's," through various means, even through—USSR Soviet deputies. Here is a case in point, R. Veidemanas was challenged in his electoral district, by an "Interdvizheniya" candidate, who spoke no Estonian! R. Veidmanas lost. The army "was used" against his intelligentsia member—soldiers stationed in this territory participated in the election. Although, elections to the USSR Soviet Deputies were successful, according to the unsuccessful canditate himself, it is apparently too soon to discuss true democracy, since the Republic's fate was decided also by those, the majority of whom, view Estonia through a crack of the military unit's fence. R. Veidemanas' loss to the soldiers, reminded me of the words of the American writer Thoreau, who said: true democracy is not attained by majority's success, but by—the victory of truth. [Passage omitted]

What type of citizenship law will be adopted? At the headquarters of the ELT (Estonian Popular Front) they say the majority of Estonians want the maximal law—Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic citizens are to be only those individuals who lived in Estonia, or whose parents lived in Estonia, prior to 1940. What will the Republic's economic independence be like—something to deceive incompetents with, or will it be real ? Will migration be successfully halted? Can success be achieved in saving nature, which is being mercilessly assaulted by Estonian jonava, mazeikiai, akmene—progeny of "the mighty center?" Doctors are concerned: children are becoming ill more frequently, in polluted northwest Estonia.

These are all vitally important questions, which every Estonian, who loves his nation, is constantly aware of. In order to solve these complicated and not to be put off problems they must—exist and survive. The frightening facts are: in Talin, Narva, Selamja, Paldiskys, Vivikouna [place names rendered in Lithuanian], they are—already, in the minority. I found out from Deputy Editor of MOLODYOZH ESTONIY, A. Maloverjanas, that the birthrate is higher among the Russians, not the Estonians. [Passage omitted]

Before departing for home, I again visited the tower, which flies the Estonian national flag. Forgive me, Long Herman, for not contemplating Estonia's sorrows, any longer. I did not arrive empty-handed either but—with our problems and sorrows, which are very similar.

Newspaper's Closure Would Be 'Discrimination'

PM2908152989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Reprint, under the "Final Delivery" rubric, of readers' letter to SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA newspaper, followed by PRAVDA comment: "To the Readers of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA"]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

Unfortunately, many of us who read SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA live according to the principle of the well-known Russian proverb: "The peasant only bothers to cross himself when it thunders." But the thunder is already audible, albeit faintly. Our paper's existence has irked certain people for a long time now. Remember the placards at certain rallies, remember the appeals at certain forums, remember the pickets.

Now Valmiyerskiy Rayon party committee First Secretary Ya. Zemletskis has urged the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum to close our paper. In his view, all that is needed is CINA, which "...could be published in Latvian and Russian and be the sole organ of the Central Committee."

For some reason there has been no apparent reaction in defense of our interests, the interests of the readers of our dear newspaper, on the part of such societies and organizations as the Balto-Slavic Society, the Latvian Society of Russian Culture, Interfront, and others. And what about the national cultural societies? Are we to suspect them of having a negative attitude to the paper?

It is time to state that we definitely disagree with the proposals to close SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA.

Dear Comrades, readers and friends, the simplest and most effective reponse to the "thunder" at this moment is to subscribe to the newspaper immediately and to express one's opinion of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in letters to the editorial office and, in particular, to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, whose organ it is.

[signed] Readers of the newspaper Yegorov, Levin, Gasparyan, Skalskiy, Makarenko, Mirzagitov, Angayev, Berzinsh, and Martsinkevich. (SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 19 August).

From the PRAVDA editorial board:

Together with the other alarming reports from the Soviet Baltic republics, this news is bound to cause grave concern. There has been a growing number of proposals on closing down SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, a paper with rich traditions, beloved of many readers in the republic. There were even suggestions to that effect at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, and they were supported by I. Kezbers, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee ideology secretary. What is this? What is the reason for it? You will agree that the closure of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA would have to be viewed as a manifestation of nationalism, as discrimination against people speaking another language. So the letter from people of different nationalities, which we are reprinting today from the republican paper, is perfectly natural. The SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA editorial office is receiving similar letters daily—more and more of them, in fact.

Latvian Central Committee Plenum To Resume 30 Aug

LD2908160389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] In Riga tomorrow the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum will resume its work. During the nearly 3-week recess the commission of 59 persons was instructed to draft a final version of the Latvian Communist Party action program based on alternative drafts and more than 2,000 proposals from Communists. The current plenum is an important stage of the preparations for the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress. So, even after it is ended, the discussion of a new status of the Latvian Communist Party and of the proposed amendments to the charter and program of the CPSU will continue.

Latvian Program Commission Discusses Tasks

LD1808102589 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2000 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] At the end of last week, particpants at the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee plenum adopted a resolution to form a commission to work out a program of urgent and long-term activity of the Communist Party of Latvia. Today, this commission gathered for its first meeting at the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee.

The meeting was opened by Janis Vagris, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee. Reminding everyone of the especially great significance of the task given by the plenum, he proposed a discussion of the organizational questions of the work. Members of the commission divided themselves into working groups that will draw up individual sections of the document, taking into account the established schedule of the work. By 21 August, these groups will prepare the first version of the text of the program of urgent and long-term activity of the Communist Party of Latvia. On 22 August, the commission will gather for a second joint meeting, during the course of which the text of the document will be discussed and defined more precisely.

It was decided that working out the text of the program must be completed by 25 August, and it must be handed over to the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee's members and candidate members, and also to members and candidate members of the auditing commission. The work is planned in such a way that the Central Committee's plenum can meet again on 30 August.

Riga Party Committee Secretary Replaced

PM2908113989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 10 Aug 89 p 3

[LATINFORM report: "Party Gorkom Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Riga City Latvian Communist Party Committee [gorkom] was held. Following the election of I.A. Daudish as secretary of the Latvian

Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, he was released from his duties as Riga party gorkom secretary.

E.E. Aboltinsh was elected Riga Obkom [oblast party committee] secretary.

I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the party gorkom plenum's work.

Kezbers Notes 'Democratic Socialism' for Latvia

PM2408125189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by I. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee: "About Socialism Yet Again"]

[Text] One often hears the opinion that the rapid pace of democratization and all the complex, uneven, and contradictory phenomena created by the processes of perestroyka in the sociopolitical sphere "undermine the foundations of the system," are "ideologically harmful," "run counter to basic principles," and so forth. Using this demagoguery, the opponents of perestroyka in whatever guise essentially call for a return to the old days, at least to the time of stagnation, when everything was "ideologically correct," but it is well known just what this "purity" led to—a serious and profound economic and sociopolitical crisis. We should essentially talk not about a crisis of **socialism**, but about a crisis in the effectiveness of the administrative and bureaucratic model of socialism created by Stalin, which perestroyka has only exacerbated. Democratization and glasnost in our society have made it more obvious.

If we think seriously about the future of socialism in our country and, at the same time, in the republic, we cannot ignore the following points:

1) It is impossible to "produce" a new idea of socialism and then "inject" working people with it. Only a new utopia can be created that way. The future of socialism can only be modeled by relying on a profound analysis of the realities of the capitalist and noncapitalist world on the basis of the laws of their current development.

2) Socialism, like any other system, includes the whole gamut of economic, scientific, technical, sociopolitical, moral, and ideological relations. All this determines the actual position of working people in society. That is why the criterion of the "socialist nature" of a certain society can only be its attitude to people—not abstract entities, but concrete, real working people and their interests and needs. This makes it possible for us to raise the question not of socialism in general but of the most effective sociopolitical and economic system oriented toward working people.

3) Socialism will only be socialism when the "liberation of labor" is wholly implemented—that is, if the economic liberation of working people takes place at the same time as and in parallel with people's spiritual liberation. Under the new conditions socialism should primarily ensure the economic foundations of the freedom of each individual, without which socialism as such, not to mention real socialist democracy, is inconceivable. This will only be possible when state ownership is decentralized, when a diverse range of types of ownership is set up, and when all working people can freely choose where and how they want to implement their creative potential, irrespective of what "employers" might want. Of course, in this situation there will be a need for new forms of social and political life with the trend toward socialist self-management.

It is impossible to seriously discuss the question of the further prospects for developing the Latvian Communist Party if the problems connected with the model of society we wish to create in the republic as a result of radical perestroyka are not touched upon. The words "socialist" or "Soviet" cannot be avoided here, because they are too keenly associated in the public awareness with the flagrant discrepancy between, on the one hand, what was once proclaimed to be true and, on the other hand, actual reality—all the disorder in life which ordinary people sense at every step. When we have now started living in an atmosphere of glasnost and learning democracy and tolerance toward different opinions, there are hardly likely to be many people who quite seriously believe that the socialist model proposed in previous years was indeed the "bright future" for which blood and sweat were shed. We have finally realized that there is a limit to everything and that one idea—even the most beautiful idea—cannot be endlessly exploited unless it is implemented in a life worthy of people. All this gives us every reason to conclude that the model of administrative and bureaucratic socialism based on authoritarian methods of running society and the state has lost its ability to exert a positive influence on our society's development and has to all intents and purposes become a brake on that development.

Where should we look for a way out of this situation? We often even hear ideas expressed that the very idea is to blame for everything and that the practice of building socialism is the most vivid proof of the impossibility of implementing this idea. People usually conclude from this that, with a view to further developing society, we should dismantle the socialist system. It seems to me that this is a profoundly erroneous opinion. First, because it is not the actual idea of socialism that has discredited itself but the ways and means hitherto chosen to implement it. It is well known that socialism as a policy goal is proclaimed not only by communists, but also in the fundamental documents of many democratic, socialist, and worker parties around the world. It is supported by millions of working people all over the globe. And could it be otherwise, if we view socialist society as a society of free people, a society of working people existing for the good of working people and based on the principles of humanism, socialist democracy, and social justice? But these are only general outlines which need to be fleshed out and refined according to the specifics of each state, the features of historic development, and present-day realities. In this connection we should not follow the so frequently criticized path of standardization but try to find our own "path" to the common goal. In other words, we need unity in diversity.

Here we come up against the next question, which, in my opinion, is essential. Can the current political and socioeconomic system created during the years of Soviet power in Latvia ensure that we are capable of creating our own model of democratic socialism here? I think it can, since the very idea of Soviet power, particularly during the perestroyka process, is a profoundly democratic idea and its full implementation could guarantee genuine people's power. This means that our main task is not to dismantle Soviet power but to create all the conditions for ensuring that this power wholly reveals its hitherto untapped democratic potential. I think that there is now no serious alternative to this path. We could, of course, talk about restoring parliamentarianism in the forms in which it existed in the Latvian republic in the period between the world wars, but this is not a realistic idea, since it is well known just how substantially the socioeconomic basis of power, the national composition of residents, and many other external and internal factors have changed over the past 50 years.

Thus one option for our further development could be the creation of democratic socialism in Latvia. We should not forget that there was a time when this phrase would have put our ideologists in something of a lather, since this was usually the way in which the desire of the East European socialist countries for a more open and democratic society in which man would be the central figure was formulated. As is well known, these desires were unambiguously assessed at the time as antisocialist or, at best, as revisionist. We now view these problems in a far more calm and balanced fashion. In putting forward our concept of new political thinking, whose cornerstone is the priority of common human values, we have finally realized that we cannot build a democratic society (and a real socialist society cannot fail to be democratic) through undemocratic means and methods. We have recognized that socialism is only socialism if democracy imbues all spheres of social life—from ownership and production relations to culture.

Naturally, I do not intend today to precisely define the "parameters" of this model of democratic socialism. This is impossible, if only because there is no corresponding theoretical basis for so doing. Major work must be done to create such a basis, above all, by our party's theoretical forces. Posing the question in broader terms, this is one of the main tasks for the entire Latvian Communist Party if we really want it to regain its position as political leader of society and if it really recognizes its enormous responsibility to the Latvian people and all the republic's residents. I think it would be right if the time remaining until the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress were devoted to a serious discussion on the prospects for developing our society. Nonparty people should be extensively involved in this discussion. If before the congress we manage to elaborate and formulate a definite party concept on these issues—a concept which could be an important part of the Latvian Communist Party program—this, in my opinion, would be a substantial contribution toward enhancing the party's prestige and influence. In order to successfully develop a model of democratic socialism in line with our republic's specific conditions we must agree right now on certain fundamental basic points:

First, we must allow for the possibility that this model may differ substantially from the models which may be created in other union republics. This, of course, does not exclude consideration of certain highly important general laws of socialist building by taking account not only of the USSR's specific experience but of the experience of the socialist countries and certain capitalist countries (Sweden and Finland, for instance), particularly in the socioeconomic sphere.

Second, one of the key provisions for this socialist model should be recognition of the fact that its implementation will only be possible given a full restoration of Latvia's statehood in economic as well as sociopolitical terms. Moreover, this process of restoration should be accompanied by the full restoration of the Leninist principles of the USSR's federal structure and the profound democratization of relations between the union republics and the center, which would be based on a new union treaty. This confirms yet again the fact that we firmly advocate Latvia's harmonious development within the USSR.

Third, the achievement of real Latvian sovereignty and the elaboration of a new model of socialist society will not be possible unless the Latvian Communist Party's status within the CPSU is altered. We believe that under the present-day conditions of democratic centralism—the main principle of building the party and its activity—normal functioning is only possible on the basis of the political and territorial autonomy of the Latvian Communist Party, whose normative base could be the Latvian Communist Party Statutes and action program. Ideally this situation would allow the CPSU's sociopolitical provisions and its basic strategic and tactical avenues to be transformed into the Latvian Communist Party's strategy and tactics and its policy, which would take strict account of the specifics of the republic and the features of our society's development.

The practical measures which need to be carried out to ensure that a concept of democratic socialism corresponding to our republic's conditions is worked out before the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress are as follows:

First, we should set up (perhaps at this plenum) a competent group of specialists—both theoreticians and practical people (economists, lawyers, political scientists, sociologists, historians, and party and soviet workers)—to comprehensively analyze the level of the republic's current economic and sociopolitical development and draw up conclusions on this issue.

Second, on the basis of these conclusions (after they are published in the press) it would be possible to begin a party debate on the path to be followed in order to achieve a new quality of socialism in conditions of Latvia's state sovereignty. This debate should as far as possible include the broadest masses of the republic's residents, which would simultaneously make it possible to consolidate the republic's society around the slogan "We decide Latvia's destiny ourselves!" Another important point is that the democratic socialist model accords with the interests of all the republic's residents. Within the framework of this stage scientific conferences could be held with the participation of leading specialists from the relevant sectors of science both from the USSR and from foreign countries, and the specific experience of foreign countries (Hungary, Poland, the GDR, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland) could be studied.

Third, the final stage would include a generalization of the discussion materials, analysis of them, and the preparation of relevant documents which would form the basis for the elaboration of a new Latvian Communist Party Program and its adoption at our party's 25th congress. If we managed to create such a solid basis for preparing the party program, the history of the Latvian Communist Party could perhaps claim for the first time that the "party program is the program of the entire people." This would undoubtedly enhance the party's prestige and its political influence.

Swedish Paper Reports on Baltic Protests

PM2908112189 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 24 Aug 89 p 4

[Asmund Willersrud dispatch: "Balts Hand in Hand for Freedom"]

[Excerpt] Tallinn—Hundreds of thousands of Balts, perhaps even as many as a million, stood hand in hand yesterday evening in the biggest and most powerful protest action ever against Soviet rule in the Baltic states.

At 1900 hours Baltic time (no longer the same as Moscow time) the signal ran like wildfire along the human snake from Tallinn to Riga to Vilnius, and hundreds of thousands of demonstrators formed the human chain: an undefended and peaceful action, but perhaps the most powerful protest against the Soviet annexation, its organizers claimed.

In Tallinn the national independence party gathered tens of thousands of people in a protest meeting under the Hermann tower with its Estonian tricolor waving in the breeze. Other Estonians had already been taken by bus to their places along the route of the chain.

The demonstrators in Tallinn held placards with outspoken anti-Soviet slogans such as "End the Occupation," Estonia Did Not Join the Soviet Union," and "Soviet Army of Occupation, Go Home!"

Stickers bearing the swastika and the Soviet hammer and sickle dripping with blood could be bought for 1 ruble each.

The police were in place in central Tallinn, but not in such large numbers as has been usual on Molotov-Ribbentrop day in the last few years.

In the emotional joint appeal which was read at mass meetings in the three republics the Balts appealed to "brothers and sisters in East and West" to lend them a democratic helping hand. "We are prepared to forget your double moral standards if you are courageous enough to demand that international laws should be applied not only in Africa and Asia, but also in Europe," ran the appeal. "Let us unite our voices and demand that the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania be declared unlawful."

The People's Fronts in Estonia and Latvia and Sajudis in Lithuania are demanding that the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its protocols be declared criminal, dead, and without validity from the moment it was signed.

The mood in Estonia seems more optimistic and exciting than ever on the 50th anniversary of the signing of the German-Soviet nonaggression pact, despite the fact that there have not been any positive new signals from Moscow.

The fact that people now speaking openly of "independence" instead of "self-rule" is because the people are today talking about something that they think is possible in practical terms, People's Front leader Marju Lauristin said at a press conference in Tallinn.

"We are standing at the crossroads," she declared.

Prime Minister Indrek Toome, who appeared at the press conference alongside the People's Front leadership, declared that he supports independence for Estonia.

"We are on our way," he said, but he added that a referendum to decide the question is only a last way out. There are other ways out which the republic's political leadership will look at first, he said.

Nevertheless the work on the law to create a base for the referendum is under way and could be completed by the end of October. This was confirmed at the press conference by Edgar Savisaar, a People's Front leader and the new chief of Estonia's Gosplan [State Planning Commission].

"I don't think that we can avoid a referendum," he added.

Would the People's Front then have the Supreme Soviet in Tallinn declare independence and secession from the Soviet Union? Marju Lauristin replied evasively that the most important thing is independence. Whether or not it comes about within the union depends on developments in a wider European context.

"The border question is not the one of the greatest immediate importance," she said.

Developments in Europe of course seem very favorable, from the Tallinn viewpoint, on the day before Poland gets its first noncommunist prime minister since the war.

It was striking that it was the leader of the party Central Committee's propaganda department and not the People's Front leader who was keenest to underline the parallels with what is currently happening in Poland and Hungary.

"Poland has given us an example and a lesson in the necessity of being able to use democratic means," he said. "Last year it was the Hungarians who were surprised by how far the Balts were able to go. Now it is we who are surprised by the Hungarians and the Poles," the Central Committee spokesman said.

At the press conference Edgar Savisaar, deputy chairman of the commission examining the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, tried to tone down the significance of the fact that commission chairman Aleksandr Yakovlev has not signed the report.

"We have had problems in reaching all the members of the commission during the holiday period, but today we got yet another signature."

Savisaar nevertheless confirmed that a telegram had been sent to party chief Mikhail Gorbachev expressing deep concern over the fact that the report has not been published in PRAVDA as planned. A reply had not been received and it was therefore decided to print the report in Estonia. [passage omitted]

Interior Ministry Confirms No Political Prisoners

LD3008081989 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] A Soviet Interior Ministry spokesman has confirmed that there isn't a single political prisoner jailed for his convictions in the USSR. The last political convicts were set free by the start of this year, when the Soviet Union signed the final document of the Vienna conference. The representative dismissed Western radio stations' assertions that there are still political prisoners in the USSR. He said that the few people mentioned in the reports were convicted for high treason or drug smuggling rather than for their views.

Ukrainian Presidium To Submit Draft Language Law

PM2908142789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent N. Baklanov report: "Draft Law for Public Discussion"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium session has adopted a decision to submit for broad public discussion a draft Ukrainian SSR Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR, expected to come into force 1 January next year.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has already on several occasions in the past examined various versions of the draft, which were subsequently returned for finishing touches for various reasons. The discussion of the last version of the draft was by no means unequivocal.

As a result of a 3-hour discussion of the draft the following was decided: It is proposed that Ukrainian be the state language on Ukrainian territory, while Russian, in accordance with established practice in our country, is allocated the role of the language for interethnic relations.

The authors of the draft stressed that it is planned to introduce certain articles of the law gradually—in 5-10 years—in view of the national composition of the population in various regions of the republic. The fact that the future law must not infringe the rights of people of any nationality, including their right to professional activity, also emerges as extremely important.

It is also proposed to publish a Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the procedure for enforcing the law along with a detailed commentary at the same time as the draft law, which will be made public in the near future.

Amendments to Ukrainian Constitution Considered

PM2308134889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent S. Troyan report: "Draft Laws Under Discussion"]

[Text] Sevastopol—The discussion has begun in the Ukraine of the draft Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Laws on amendments and additions to the republic's constitution, elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, and elections of local soviet deputies.

At a plenum of Sevastopol City Party Committee [gorkom] held the other day, an appeal to Communists, citizens of the city, and servicemen of the garrison, asking them to take part in formulating the election platform of the city party organization, was adopted.

A draft platform is published in the local newspaper SLAVA SEVASTOPOLYA. The document expresses satisfaction with the abolition of okrug election meetings and the decision not to make it compulsory to combine the posts of soviet chairman and first secretary of the corresponding party committee.

"At the same time," the document says, "we are opposed to elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies from social organizations, and we support the proposal of Leningrad workers, the Kiev 'Bolshevik' Association, and the Sevastopol 'Atlantika' Association for the formation of production electoral okrugs—from labor collectives—alongside territorial okrugs for elections to local soviets. We propose that provision be made in legislation for direct secret elections of chairmen of soviets at all levels on a contested basis and for one-fourth of the local soviet deputies to be granted the opportunity to engage in full-time activity as deputies, with remuneration from budget resources."

In connection with the exacerbation of national problems in the republic and in the Crimea, the city party committee [gorkom] proposed a referendum on these questions—the reconstitution of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, state bilingualism, and the study of the Ukrainian language, and the organized resettlement of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimea in the light of the situation that developed historically.

The readiness to fight on equal terms for places in the organs of power and not to seek easy ways on the difficult road of rivalry, the desire to discuss the most urgent and topical qeustions, will undoubtedly find support and understanding among the city's people. On the basis of this platform, social forces will be able to rally to resolve practical tasks.

Plans for Ukrainian Energy Complex Reviewed

PM2208092989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Sitting"]

[Excerpts] A scheduled sitting of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has been held. [passage omitted]

As a result of deputies' questions, numerous appeals by labor collectives and the public, and items in the press on the inadvisability of building a fourth nuclear power station unit, increasing the capacity of the South Ukraine energy complex, and exacerbating the ecological situation in this region, the Presidium instructed the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers to study the scientific and practical justification for further expanding the construction of the complex and reservoirs on the Yuzhnyy Bug River, adopt the appropriate resolution, and convey it to the USSR Council of Ministers so that it can make the final decision on this question. [passage omitted]

Belorussian Potassium Miners State Demands

PM2408143089 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 p 3

[Unnamed BELTA correspondent report under the rubric "Soon After the Event": "Strike or Dialogue? Dialogue, the Soligorsk Miners Concluded"]

[Text] The miners saw the enormous extent of the economic, material, and moral losses caused by a strike from the example of the striking Donetsk and Kuzbass miners. "The potassium miners think that it is wrong to embark on the path of strikes when ironing out conflicts between the workers and the state, represented by the local soviets, ministries, and departments," a decision of their labor collectives states, "until all the existing possibilities and paths to mutual agreement have been used. This is why the potassium miners are appealing to workers in all sectors of the national economy at this difficult time to show restraint and not to let emotions prevail over reason, to form an objective understanding of every conflict situation, and to find the one path which does not cause our common prosperity to suffer."

The meeting with the Soligorsk miners in the Belorussian Trade Unions Council, which spent many hours discussing the package of demands put forward by the labor collectives of the "Beloruskaliy" Production Association and the Soligorsk Mining Construction Administration, was devoted to seeking that path.

Taking part in the meeting were V.I. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Trade Unions Council, D.I. Marach, secretary of the Belorussian Trade Unions Council, A.I. Tishkevich, chairman of Minsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, N.K. Petrushkevich, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of trade, L.N. Shchennikov, first deputy chief of the Belorussian Railroad Administration, and representatives of miners' labor collectives.

The resolutions adopted by the government on the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry do not yet extend to the Soligorsk potassium miners, as they come under to a different ministry. The miners themselves consider that the questions raised by the coal miners are relevant to workers in all mines.

The potassium miners are demanding the development of their enterprises' autonomy and the establishment of equal rights and duties with the coal miners.

Their proposals also concern the procedure for calculating preferential terms for length of service for work underground and the payment of pensions and long service awards, an increase in the number of days' leave, the establishment of a 30-hour working week for breakage face groups, an increase in enterprises' wage funds and social development funds, the preservation of the total length of service for women who are on leave to look after a child up to the age of 3, and the resolution of the housing problem.

In the sphere of the socioeconomic development of Soligorsk the miners are proposing to make provision for job placements for women, graduates from vocational and technical colleges and schools, and pensioners, paying particular attention to the employment of young people, extend the network of laundries, bath houses, and sports facilities, regulate the provision of food products, goods, and services, including transport, to the people, and organize strict monitoring of the environmental state of the region.

The Belorussian Trade Unions Council supported the workers' demands and acknowledged their urgency and validity. Immediate measures were worked out on all questions, and Minsk Oblast and Soligorsk City Soviet Executive Committees, the oblast trade unions council, the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Trade, and the Belorussian Railroad Administration were advised to adopt them.

USSR People's Deputy V.I. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Trade Unions Council, requested that the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions examine questions concerning the competence of union organs to resolve the Belorussian miners' acute social problems.

Law Enforcement Situation in Abkhaziya Assessed

LD2408210789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] The situation in Abkhaziya remains complex. This was stated by the heads of the law enforcement bodies at a briefing which was organized in the autonomous republic's ministry of internal affairs. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports:

[Omelchenko] This briefing gave a critical assessment of the work of the law enforcement bodies. Note was made of shortcomings and omissions which had led to the tragic situation in mid-July. Against the background of interethnic disturbances the struggle against economic crimes, the theft of socialist property has been weakened. There has been reduced activity in exposing cases of bribe-taking and speculation.

I shall ask Aleksandr Vasilyevich Lebedev to speak about the work being done today by the internal troops.

[Lebedev] The things that happened in Abkhaziya were regarded with great pain by the men of the internal troops. Taking part in maintaining order and protecting citizens are the personnel of troops units and military colleges where there are servicemen of various nationalities. For example, among the students of the Ordzhonikidze Higher Military Command College named after Kirov there are young people of 21 nationalities. I would like to state that all the servicemen are fulfilling their military duty honorably and conscientiously. But I would stress that particular respect has been earned by students of the Leningrad Military Higher Political College. It is there that the comrades of Senior Lieutenant Viktor Novikov and student Vladimir Okopov who died at their combat posts serve. The inhabitants of the village near which they died have decided to erect an obelisk here. Its unveiling is expected in the next few days. The inhabitants of Abkhaziya understand that in complicated conditions the servicemen are doing everything for the normalization of the situation in the republic.

Panel on April Events Holds Sessions in Tbilisi

PM2408143989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Aug 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "At the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Commission"]

[Text] The Congress of USSR People's Deputies commission investigating the circumstances behind the events that took place in the city of Tbilisi 9 April this year carried out work in Tbilisi 6 through 12 August. The aim of the commission's work was to obtain additional data and clarify certain circumstances of the case. In the course of working sessions the commission heard testimonies from a number of witnesses and studied additional materials. The commission of people's deputies conducted its work in permanent contact with the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium commission.

In conclusion the members of the commission visited Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and Otar Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The commission expressed gratitude to all the people who offered it help and assistance.

Georgia's Gumbaridze Meets New Military Commander

PM2208094589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Aug 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Meeting in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 7 August Colonel General V.A. Patrikeyev, new commander of the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District, was presented to G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

During the ensuing conversation it was noted that in peacetime the Army and the troops of the Transcaucasus Military District are called upon to fulfill only those functions which are properly theirs, enhance their combat readiness, and reliably defend the country's southern borders.

At the same time, political organs in the military district and the republic's party organizations are faced with great joint tasks connected with strengthening collaboration, improving working people's military-patriotic education, and enhancing the prestige of Army service and the officer's profession among young people.

Traditional ties must be fully restored between the servicemen of the Transcaucasus Military District and the republic's population, which will help restructuring and also help to accelerate the processes of democratization in the Army and in the republic's sociopolitical and economic life.

A.Yu. Pavshentsev, second secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and O.K. Gonadze, head of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Department, took part in the meeting.

Tbilisi Paper Interviews PRAVDA's Afanasyev

PM2208091589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with V.G. Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA, by unnamed GRUZINFORM correspondent: "V.G. Afanasyev: The Press' Mission Is To Anticipate Events and Master the Situation"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] One of the signs of our time, when the struggle between the outmoded and the new is becoming increasingly sharp, is people's increasing need for contact. No, it is not out of idle curiosity that conversations and sometimes discussions are struck up in the most unexpected places.

We seek answers to the daily growing number of questions that worry us and want to know our compatriots' opinion on the difficult events occurring in the country. This time we offer for our readers' attention a conversation with V.G. Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA, conducted by a GRUZINFORM correspondent in a somewhat unusual atmosphere. Before answering the correspondent's question Viktor Grigoryevich expressed on behalf of the whole newspaper editorial collective that he sends his deep condolences to the entire Georgian people over the tragic events in Tbilisi on 9 April and in Sukhumi on 15 July.

[Afanasyev] I have many years of close links with Georgia, which go back to my youth, when I served in the ranks of the Soviet Army. And it subsequently turned out that I took the first steps in my academic activity under the guidance of that remarkable man and scientist, Ili Diomidovich Pantskhav. Since then, for more than 30 years now, I have taken an annual vacation in Georgia. This is my sole opportunity to see my many friends in a relaxed atmosphere. These trips and meetings have always afforded me enormous joy. But this present trip of mine to Tbilisi is marred by the enormous misfortune that has befallen Georgia. I grieve along with the entire Georgian people.

[Correspondent] Unfortunately, the country has quite frequently of late witnessed events which are completely at odds with the indissoluble unity of our society that we previously proclaimed. At the same time the coverage of these events by the mass media displeases our readers as a rule!

[Afanasyev] There have, of course, been mistakes. Perestroyka and its main component—glasnost—have still not become part and parcel of our consciousness. Old thinking still makes itself felt, since we have become accustomed to merely handing out stock answers on every occasion. Hence the lack of in-depth analysis of the situation. As for the tragedy in Tbilisi, it was so unexpected, it so shook everyone that journalists find it difficult to get their bearings amidst the maelstrom of quite understandable emotions. Incidentally, so much time has elapsed and yet those truly to blame for what happened have still not been named, though they should have been by now.

[Correspondent] It was often claimed at the last Congress of People's Deputies and is claimed in the press that the party has lost authority....

[Afanasyev] If party apparatus workers or apparatchiks, as one is accustomed to say nowadays, are identified with the party, this claim has a real foundation. The point is that these very apparatchiks proved ill-prepared for work in conditions of glasnost and democracy. The apparatus became so ossified during the period of stagnation that it is difficult to get it moving. On the contrary, it sometimes resists renewal, which, naturally, reduces the party's authority. People are leaving it, while young people show no special desire to join. This is a fact, and one should not close one's eyes to it. The party's authority will be restored if those same apparatchiks learn how to engage in debate and discussion rather than banging their fist on the table and issuing peremptory directives. We have seemingly abandoned the old methods of working but without having learned how to take the new ones on board.

[Correspondent] Pluralism of opinions has produced a fertile soil for the emergence of a multitude of social movements, that is, there are various standpoints concerning our future in evidence. Clearly the clash among these standpoints should engender the truth....

[Afanasyev] Certainly. There are quite a few people who think in a profound and unorthodox way among the members of informal groups, as we call them. But we still do not know how to conduct a dialogue with them. There is consequently no debate or constructive contacts but merely mutual recriminations. It is essential to realize that now we are all active participants in perestroyka and renewal and are consequently like-minded people who should cooperate. It should not be forgotten that discussion is a form of cooperation. It is difficult to overestimate the ability to listen to an opponent. This is how a genuine consolidation of all forces can be achieved. Miners' strikes recently took place in the country, costing us hundreds of millions of rubles. We again lagged behind events and, naturally, were unable to forestall the workers' discontent by adopting appropriate measures to improve their working and living conditions. In short, we missed our opportunity. What actually happens, then? We sell gas and petroleum, then we buy pipes, which are virtually unused. There is nowhere to store the grain grown in the Kuban, there are large losses, which we make up by purchasing wheat on the international market.

[Correspondent] How do you see the role of periodicals in conditions of perestroyka?

[Afanasyev] We were just talking about the need for a dialogue between sides expressing different viewpoints and we called that one form of cooperation. Any progressive movement in society is possible only if there are different approaches to problems. Stage-managed unanimity means stagnation. We have begun the radical perestroyka of our life. This is an exceptionally responsible step initiated by the ruling party. What place is assigned to the press in this process and where will it be able to play the most significant role? I think that under a one-party system the mass media must shoulder the heavy burden of opposition, constructive opposition of course. Only then will we be able to anticipate events and control the situation, otherwise there will inevitably be all kinds of relapses and complications, as is the case now. For example, who among us could have thought just a few years ago that such serious problems existed in interethnic relations in our country? Yet they did exist and were coming to a head, but they were hushed up or drowned out by bombastic statements from public platforms about the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the flowering of all nations and ethnic groups. But had the press been doing its job I am sure that those complications stemming from interethnic relations would not have occurred here. Now our journalists seemed to have lost their reticence. Interesting publications appear frequently in the newspapers and magazines. But at the same time, in my view, a different trend is in evidence here. It has become fashionable to criticize all and sundry. And you don't dare object! Criticism is necessary, of course, but without the hysteria now visible in some publications. Building the new means more than just destroying the old, it is also necessary to clearly map out the future. No one will do that for us.

[Correspondent] Viktor Girgoryevich, the article "Federal Union," published in PRAVDA 12 July this year, is being widely discussed in our republic. The attitude toward it, furthermore, is far from clear cut, especially as this publication was followed in your newspaper by an anxious letter from Sh. Papidze, rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism. The letter made it clear that the article was largely the work of Professor N. Mikhaleva, doctor of legal sciences.

[Afansayev] There was a misunderstanding here. Sh. Papidze wrote only that part of the article concerning the status of the Georgian as the republic's official language. He has nothing to do with any of the rest. In brief, the two authors did not agree the final text of the article between them, with the result that opinions were attributed to one of them which he never expressed and furthermore which are contrary to his principles. Consequently, in this instance there was absolutely no reason for saying that Sh. Papidze was coauthor. It was for that reason that we published the Georgian academic's denial.

Armenians Protest Azeri Raids Into Armenia

NC2308122589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Aug 89

[text] Yerevan, 22 Aug (ARMENPRES)—The Russian-language republican KOMMUNIST newspaper, published in Yerevan, has published the following report by its reporter, A. Kalantari:

On 18 August, at about 2000 in the evening in the summer pasture of the Vaghut village collective farm in Sisianskiy Rayon, a group of people killed a 60-year old drover Aleksander Shapaghatyan and stole 300 sheep.

G. Arakelyan, first secretary of Sisianskiy Party Rayon Committee, told the editorial office that the crime was committed in a place close to the Azerbaijanian border. This is not the first time that such provocations have been organized. Recently, the drover of Arjsi state farm in Gorisskiy Rayon was killed. Regular alarms are received about large-scale thefts of animals.

A mass rally was held in Sisian on Sunday [20 August] during which the participants expressed their rage and protested the unprecedented attacks launched from the nearby Azerbaijani regions; they demanded strict punishment of the criminals and asked for urgent measures to protect the security of the areas population. The Azerbaijanis were called upon to institute criminal proceeding against the culprits.

Vorotnikov Visits Kamchatka Oblast Aktiv

LD2308201389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Unity of all social forces is necessary to overcome the difficulties that have come about in the national economy. This was said at a party economic aktiv in Kamchatka Oblast on 22 August by Comrade Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. Assessing the results of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, which recently ended, Comrade Vorotnikov said in his speech that the country had acquired an effective organ of popular representation, which reflected the will of all Soviet people. The draft state plan for next year, now being drawn up, was intended to halt the deterioration in the economic situation, realistically remove the growing social tension, and create a basis for the stable development of the economy.

On 20-22 August Comrade Vorotnikov acquainted himself with Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy and the oblast. He visited agricultural enterprises and a number of combine and met scientific staff of the Volcanology Institute of the USSR Academy of Science Far Eastern Department. Comrade Vorotnikov returned to Moscow on 22 August.

More on Vorotnikov Kamchatka Visit

PM2408133189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent S. Vozianov report: "We Need Unity in All Society's Forces"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] V.I. Vorotnikov familiarized himself with Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy and the oblast 20-22 August. At the "Zarechnyy" State Farm [sovkhoz] he inquired about achievements and difficulties in developing this multisector farm, the progress in assimilating new forms of economic management and labor organization, and social development in the countryside.

During meetings with working people at the "Yelizovskiy" State Hunting Enterprise, the need was mentioned to improve material incentives for hunters. The lack of Soviet advanced fish processing technology and the urgent need to modernize fishery industry enterprises and eliminate manual labor was discussed on board the trawler "Matvey Kuzmin" and at the V.I. Lenin Fishery Sovkhoz. A great deal of attention has been devoted to the experience of the work of the ocean fishing base on the second model of economic accountability.

V.I. Vorotnikov visited a food combine in the city and the Glavkamchatskstroy's Housing Building Combine, visited shops at a fish processing plant, and met with scientific staffers at the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Department's Vulcanology Institute.

V.I. Vorotnikov returned to Moscow 22 August.

Vorotnikov Visits Chukotka Okrug, Magadan Oblast

LD1808230489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov continued his trip around the Chukot Autonomous national district [okrug] and Magadan Oblast.

[Video report by V. Gerasimov shows lake with sunset, Vorotnikov's arrival at the airport surrounded by entourage, and more landscape] Despite enormous distances separating the autonomous okrug from the center of the country, the concerns of this area are the same as those of the country. Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov sensed this from the very 1st minute of his stay on Chukot soil. Straight from the Anadyr airport, Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov set off to the Kanchalan reindeer breeding state farm. At the farm center, the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium talked to residents, visited a local shop, examined new housing developments and was a guest in Petr Ivanovich Kirevye's house, who is from a long line of reindeer breeders.

In frank conversations, Kanchalan farmers told Comrade Vorotnikov about the way they live and work. In Kanchalan, as in other villages of Chukotka, housing is the most acute problem. Over the past 5 years, not a single square meter of housing has been built here. Construction here is held up by the small capacity of the local construction combine and by an acute shorgage of construction materials.

Vitaliy Ivanovich asked if children of the reindeer breeders know their native language. This is also one of the most acute problems today, which is being tackled in the okrug. In Chukotka, a newspaper and radio and television programs are printed and relayed respectively in the native language. During the conversations, prospects of reindeer breeding were discussed, particularly ways of waste-free technology, meat processing, and treating skins and reindeer horns. Certain hopes in this respect are being pinned on joint Soviet-U.S. enterprises, the first of which is being built in the oblast and will begin producing goods already this year.

Then Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov set off to the town of Anadyr, the center of the autonomous okrug, which has incidentally marked its centenary recently. In the Anadyr labor collectives, which the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium visited, the workers talked about the need to speed up the process of restructuring the economy. [video shows Anadyr, enterprises, and river]

Retiring Russian Deputy Chairman Replaced

PM2908113789

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 25 August 1989 publishes on page 2 of its Second Edition a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 24 August and signed by V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, appointing Vasiliy Georgiyevich Zakharov deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. This is followed by an unattributed report that "the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Ye.M. Chekharin from his duties as deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on pension."

Project Seen Jeopardizing Altay People

PM2108120789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 p 2

[Letter from S. Temeyev, correspondent for the newspaper ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY: "If We Build the Hydroelectric Power Station, Will We Live?"; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Leading experts of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Planning Committee, State Committee for Construction, and State Committee for Protection of the Environment have opposed the plans for the Katun Hydroelectric Power Station [GES]. Hurrah? But don't count any chickens.... An opinion is not yet a decision. The plans have many supporters, and very influential ones, too. Neither the ministry nor "Gidroproyekt" itself is yet abandoning their subnormal baby. The leadership of the autonomous oblast and certain people's deputies intend to try to secure permission for construction from the RSFSR Government. And signatures are starting to be collected in the oblast itself. The struggle continues. What Sergey Temeyev writes in his letter is very important in this connection. He hardly mentions the possible ecological harm or the economic expediency of construction—much has already been said about that. He places the debate on a new level.

Gorno-Altaysk—I am a representative of a small ethnic group in Siberia, the Altay, who are threatened with extinction.

According to the 1979 census, a total of 60,000 Altay lived in the USSR, 50,000 of them in our oblast. The Altay made up just 29 percent of the autonomous oblast's population.

Approximately 14 percent of Altay do not know their own mother tongue. The oblast center does not have a single kindergarten where children are attended to in the Altay language from an early age.

Today Altay make up the majority of the population in just three of the oblast's nine rayons.

Specialists believe that if a people declines to just 20 percent of the population on a densely populated territory, that is the beginning of the end for it as an ethnic group. Such a people will be assimilated by a larger ethnic group. My people is already close to this fateful figure. I believe that, if departmental diktat is not stopped, the same fate awaits the Altay, and the main reason for this is the construction of the giant GES on the Katun. What connection is there? I will cite the opinion of scientists in corroboration.

"We, a group of participants in the scientific and practical conference devoted to the 120th anniversary of the Altay language grammar, are deeply concerned that construction of the Katun GES could bring about irreversible processes in the fate of the Altay language and the Altay people.

"The flooding of a considerable part of Gorno-Altay and the ecological consequences of this flooding, as well as a change in the traditional economic structure of this region and the adjacent territories, will bring about a mass migration of the indigenous population, including migration outside the oblast.

"Any interference in the fragile ethnic equilibrium still maintained on the territory of Gorno-Altay could have tragic consequences also for the fate of the Altay language. A sharp influx of a population speaking another language (on their primordial land the Altay now make up just 30 percent of the autonomous oblast's population) could result in the same grave situation as has evolved with the neighboring Shor people. The region's rapid industrial assimilation, mainly involving newly arrived working people, has faced the Shor language, which had its own written language and was starting up its own literature, once again with the problem of creating a teaching primer.

"Therefore the question of creating the Katun GES is not only of economic and ecological significance. It is a question of the life of the Altay people as a unified ethnic group with the right, like any people of the Soviet Union, to its own mother tongue and its own national future. We urge all who are responsible for deciding the question of constructing the Katun GES to remember that they hold in their hands the fate of an entire people."

The letter was signed by E.R. Tenishev, chairman of the Soviet Turkologists Committee and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.T. Kaydarov, academician of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences; B.O. Oruzbayeva, academician of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences; K.M. Musayev, corresponding member of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, and other scientists.

I will cite some facts and figures to explain the scientists' appeal. More than 10,000 construction workers will arrive to build the GES—which, together with family members, means approximately 30,000-40,000 people. After the GES has been completed, the construction of large energy-intensive enterprises will undoubtedly begin and the mining industry will be developed.

Very important historical monuments—and not only of the Altay people—are in the zone to be flooded. Traces of the most ancient human settlements in Asia have been found in Gorno-Altay, more than 800,000 years old! Yes, attempts are now being made to study them, but they are clearly insufficient. And who can say what other secrets, hitherto not studied, will vanish forever beneath the water?

There is no denying that the oblast must be developed, but not at such a price, not at the cost of devastation and abnormal megalomania. Alternative versions for the development of Gorno-Altay do exist.

When will there be an end to the aggressive expansionism of the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and other ministries harnessed to perestroyka? It is they that have brought our country to the verge of ecological disaster. The ruination of the Aral has brought incalculable misfortunes to the Karakalpak, Uzbek, and Kazakh peoples. Has anyone answered for this? No. The same could happen when all the negative consequences of the construction of the GES on the Katun have their say. We will not find the guilty persons.

Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet Holds Session 16 Aug

PM2508103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Miroslav Buzhkevich report: "Soviets Report Back"]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies was held 16 August. It heard a report on the work of the kray soviet executive committee [krayispolkom] over the past 18 months. Preparations for the session took place in a democratic atmosphere. A special deputies' commission checked out the work of the krayispolkom and its departments and administrations and examined the style and methods of its leadership of city, rayon, and rural soviet executive committees [ispolkoms]. Krayispolkom members reported to labor collectives at industrial and rural enterprises, construction organizations, and scientific establishments. All 20 kray soviet deputies' commissions heard reports from leaders of its subdivisions. This has helped deputies to consider in depth the problems of life in the kray.

The session in Krasnoyarsk is one of the first results of the implementation of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the convocation of extraordinary sessions of soviets of people's deputies in August-September. They are required to analyze the prevailing situation in every village, city, rayon, oblast, kray, and republic, focusing attention on the implementation of the set socioeconomic programs, the reorganization of the structure of the soviets themselves and of organizations under their jurisdiction, and the resolute elimination of bureaucracy and red tape.

The events of recent months—the more and more frequent strikes, flareups of interethnic tensions, mounting shortages in the sphere of trade—all demand from soviets that they be able to respond swiftly to the phenomena produced by life, assess them correctly in political terms, and, most importantly, act resolutely in the interests of the people and the of preservation of stability in the socioeconomic sphere. Unfortunately, by no means everywhere was this course of action followed. After all, the leaders of local soviets, with the Kemerovo Oblispolkom at their head, must have been aware of the buildup of negative factors in miners' lives and have known that the situation in mining settlements and towns was becoming critical. Yet the soviet organs failed to take resolute steps to defuse the tension.

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the convocation of extraordinary sessions gave tangible impetus to the development of soviet organs' initiative. Preparations for these sessions are in full swing. Sessions of rural and settlement soviets have already opened in Kalinin Oblast. In rayon centers and cities under oblast jurisdiction they will be held next month, at the end of which the oblast soviet session will take place.

The preparations for and holding of extraordinary soviet sessions are a highly creative matter. It is expedient to involve enterprise labor collectives, social organizations, and mass movements in this work. This includes both visits by ispolkom members at plants, factories, farms, and institutions to give account of the soviets' work, and reports to deputies' commissions by leaders of key enterprises and utilities under soviet organ jurisdiction, above all those engaged in the provision of services to the population.

An important place in this work belongs to the local press, television, and radio. If time allows, it would be good to publish the theses of keynote reports in advance and to discuss them publicly at rural rallies, workers' meetings, and in the mass media. All this will help to brief the population extensively on the work done by soviet organs and on their plans for the future.

The holding of extraordinary sessions of soviets of people's deputies is an important stage in the country's political life. The accelerated expansion of local soviets' real rights is taking place before our very eyes. They are called on to strive more vigorously to improve Soviet people's living and working conditions, consolidate law and order, and reinforce state and public discipline. Only in this way will the soviets of people's deputies contribute to the full utilization of the opportunities which have emerged in the course of perestroyka to help overcome the shortcomings in the development of the economy, improve services to the population, and remove strain from socioeconomic, ecological, and interethnic relations.

New Russian National-Territorial Rayon Created

PM2108121389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent D. Bubyakin for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Evens' Dream Has Come true"]

[Excerpts] Yakutsk—By a decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic a new national-territorial formation has been created in the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]—the Eveno-Bytantayskiy Rayon—has been created. L.N. Grigoryeva, chairman of the Yakut ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, describes what gave rise to the need to create the new rayon and what it will give the Even.

"This decree resolves one of the most important problems regarding one of the smallest ethnic groups of Yakutia—the Even, who now populate part of the territory of Verkhoyanskiy Rayon. This important event in the life of this people is the result of the long, painstaking study of the social and economic expediency of creating a new administrative division with the entire management apparatus complex. It must be noted that the 19th all-union party conference and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies provided important impetus. [passage omitted]

"The creation of the new Eveno-Bytantayskiy Rayon is not a hurriedly undertaken action but pursues a purposeful program of the people's development within the single complex of the republic's national economy. This will generate an accelerated upsurge in the economy and culture and welfare of the Even and involve them in the country's active sociopolitical work, which opens up before them a broad prospect for the future. But the main aim is to resurrect their disappearing language, culture, and unique way of life."

Chelyabinsk Metallurgy Workers Meet Minister

LD2108211889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Presented by commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Excerpt] This part of the bulletin will open with material from Chelyabinsk. The fact is that at the Electro-Ferrous Alloy Combine a critical situation has arisen this year. Over to Leonid Griyoryev, a Chelyabinsk Radio correspondent:

[Grigoryev] The situation at Chelyabinsk Electro-Ferrous Alloy Combine became urgent long ago. The combine has been producing alloys—special additives for obtaining high-quality steel types—for more than 50 years. The equipment has remained at a 50-year-old level for all these years. The combine has been systematically failing to meet the plan since the beginning of the year. Wages are low. Working conditions are hard. All of this went into the 63 points in the demands sent by the electro-ferrous metallurgists to the USSR metallurgy minister, and they demanded a meeting with him. This meeting has now taken place, directly in Workshop 8, which initiated the letter to the minister. I asked Serafim Vasilyevich Koppakov, USSR metallurgy minister, to share his impressions of this meeting:

[Begin Kolpakov recording] There is just one question: How, on the basis of economic levers, new forms of management, and democratization, to raise the level of economic work and production, and make a profit from this?

A great many problems have mounted up in the metallurgical industry, as they have in a number of other industries, incidentally; especially on the issue of reconstruction and modernization of capital assets; the ecological situation which is complex for virtually all enterprises, and requires an immediate solution; the complex social situation, which calls for the provision of housing conditions and other social benefits. The food situation is also complex today. It is particularly felt here in Chelyabinsk. This mass of problems undoubtedly gives rise to such appeals and letters. [end recording] [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Welcomes Leningrad Party Shakeup

PM2208095789

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 August 1989 Second Edition publishes on page 2 under the headline "The Time for Action Has Come" a 1,200-word report by own correspondent V. Gerasimov, datelined Leningrad, citing Leningrad Oblast Party Committee aktiv delegates' remarks before and after the meeting, noting certain shortcomings such as "inadequately prepared" proposals and individual Communist leaders' failure to respond to criticism, but concurring that the time for action has come and that Leningrad Communists have realized that they now have a real leader whom people will follow.

The report is followed by an "Editorial Office Viewpoint," signed A. Ilin, the text of which reads:

"The heated, contradictory debate in the Tavricheskiy Palace was not followed by Leningraders alone—live television broadcasts were received in Moscow and a number of the country's other cities. Several hundred cables and phoned-in questions from television viewers formed an integral part of the Leningrad Communists' discussion about the party, the times, and themselves and had a certain impact on the character and content of the debate. It can be claimed that another step, no doubt a promising step, has been taken toward overcoming the former closed nature of party life, toward honest dialogue with people.

"It is hardly possible to expect a detailed account of the entire content of the debate—and we did not ask our Leningrad correspondent to provide it. The meeting was addressed by 73 people from the rostrum alone, in addition to which there were rejoinders from the floor, explanatory interviews at the press center during the breaks, and memoranda which were read out in the hall.... Where would I like to focus attention? The diversity of opinions, the sharp criticism, and the ability to make speeches no longer astound anyone. Since the Congress of USSR People's Deputies this has become commonplace. Nonetheless, it is pleasing to note that heated and, what is more, serious, constructive debates are taking place today at Communists' meetings which, for many years and decades, were marked by a complacent, decorous, stage-managed "monolithic cohesion" or engaged in a discussion of the latest 'results and tasks in plan fulfillment' with perfunctory zeal.

"Here is a characteristic detail: When, as a result of being pressed for time, with two or three dozen people insisting on being given the floor, a time limit of 3 minutes was introduced, the debate, contrary to misgivings, became more lively, pointed, and businesslike at the same time, and most of the people who took the rostrum proved to be resourceful and skillful speakers. It seemed that they were stung by our eternal desire to cut short a discussion which has only just gained momentum and depth (just because the children are waiting, or work is pressing). They were angered because not just standing orders and instructions but also habits acquired during the period of stagnation force Communists to take up a defensive position, to keep glancing over their shoulder at unwritten rules instead of acting as the situation requires, according to their conscience and conviction, and showing confidence and trust in party members.

"And although some people are still put off by the strident nature of the opinions expressed—which, in actual fact, is sometimes somewhat affected—or by the desire of certain people to show off on the rostrum, this kind of open and direct discussion before the eyes of the masses is helping to dispel the proverbial fog created by criticism for criticism's sake as well as to put an end to doubts and rumors, and it is helping Communists to elaborate a correct stance and become political fighters.

"So, did the aktiv meeting live up to Leningraders' expectations? Not entirely. Obviously, that too is quite normal. The annihilation of a number of oblast and city party committee leaders in the 26 March election is far from forgotten. The socioeconomic problems in the city and oblast (just as in the country as a whole) are too acute for people to trust anyone implicitly. However, it seems that B.V. Gidaspov, concluding the discussion, had every right to claim that the debate had been frank, critical, and constructive and that it will, unquestionably, help to disperse the myth about the Communists' confusion and inability to take initiative into their own hands. You can sense that Leningrad Communists have both the determination and the ability to galvanize all party forces for the interests of the perestroyka."

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Appoints Officials

LD2908110789 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has decreed that to appoint comrade Marat Sami-ogly Mendybayev as deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

The Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet has released Comrade Baykenov from his duties as deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers in connection with his election as first secretary of the Alma-Ata City Party Committee.

Kzyl-Orda Oblast Elects, Releases Officials

LD2908111189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] A session of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies was held today. It examined an organizational matter. The session released Comrade Zolotaryev from his duties as chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee in connection with his election as first secretary of the Aktyubinsk Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Comrade (Brynkin) was elected chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee, he had been working as second secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Party Committee.

Taldy-Kurgan Oblast Elects New Chairman

LD2508124689 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Today [24 Aug] a session of the Taldy-Kurgan Oblast soviet of people's deputies was held. It examined an organizational matter. The session released Comrade Shaukhamanov from his duties as chairman of the oblast executive committee, in connection with his election as first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. On an alternative basis, Comrade (Krikinov), who had been working as secretary of the Taldy-Kurgan Oblast Party Committee, was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee.

Uzbek Party Elects New Second Secretary

LD2208090789 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Jul 98 p 1

[Excerpt] On 29 July the 15th plenum of the Uzbek Communist Central Committee was held. It examined an organizational matter. In connection with his transfer to other work the plenum released V.P. Anishchev from his duties as member of Bureau and second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. A.S. Yefimov was elected member of the Bureau and second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. He had been working as chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Committee of People's Control. [passage omitted]

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Makes Appointments

LD2408194889 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 3

[Excerpts] The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees appointment of Comrade Shukurulla Rakhmatovich Mirsayidov as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Uzbek SSR. [passage omitted]

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees the appointment of Comrade Vyacheslav Mukhtarovich Kamalov as minister of internal affairs of the Uzbek SSR. [passage omitted]

Turkmenia, Uzbekistan Problems Highlighted

LD2408203189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On the border of Tashauz and Khorezm Oblasts there has been a meeting of party and governmental delegations from the neighboring republics headed by

Comrades Niyazov and Karimov, the first secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of Turkmenia and Uzbekistan.

[Correspondent] The problems of this region, whether on the right or the left bank of the Amudarya, are as similar as two drops of its water, which, incidentally, is all the time becoming less and less while the problems are getting ever greater—namely, the very acute shortage of jobs and the sanitary and ecological situation concerning the river and the Aral Sea. [video shows delegations greeting each other]

How are these problems to be solved? At the expense of the interests of one's neighbors or by means of compromise and the consistent and gradual surmounting of obstacles? The Uzbek and Turkmen peoples, who share a common historical destiny, have chosen the second and most correct path. At the present time working groups have been set up in both republics which will facilitate the tackling of regional problems. They include leading specialists in agriculture, water conservancy, and the ecological service.

The meetings of the first secretaries of the communist parties' central committees, which are becoming traditional, are giving a particularly businesslike imetus to these contacts. Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov and Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov acquainted themselves with farms in Tashauz Oblast and took part in the festive opening of a school that children of Uzbek nationality will attend. This is now the 79th school in Turkmenian territory where teaching is conducted in the Uzbek language. [video shows delegations at school opening; video then shows interviews with I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, and with S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenia Central Committee. Both identified by screen captions]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Tell me, what practical decisions may come of this meeting today?

[Karimov] It is very difficult to give a precise answer to that question. However I would answer it roughly in this way. Whenever you lose something, you begin to realize the value of the thing, and at a time when relations between republics, nations, and ethnic groups in our country have become fairly complicated we again and again on the basis of the example of fraternal relations with Turkmenia begin to feel the value of these fraternal relations. I would like once again to say that if our relations with Turkmenia, its leadership, its aktiv, and its entire people may serve as a fine example in order to show not only the tensions that arise in various regions of the country but to also show fine, good, and, I would say, well-considered relations, I think that this is material and that it is necessary to show the Soviet people and other regions that this fine example does exist and can be copied. If we achieve this, I regard this as one of the main objectives and the thing of substance that we derive from this meeting.

[Correspondent] Thank you. [end recording]

[Niyazov] I think, and I fully agree with my counterpart, that what occurred at our meeting today is already becoming traditional and is already producing returns. We have already begun jointly to tackle interboundary ecological problems, the question of the Aral Sea, and the question of combating the pollution of the Amudarya's water. What has been permitted to happen is a common calamity for us, and we shall by our common efforts and together rectify matters. Our people will, of course, only benefit from this. But in our view the most important thing is that these meetings provide us with grounds for thinking that through national education we are achieving international education.

Turkmen, Uzbek First Secretaries Hold Meeting

PM2408135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent: "Common Concerns"]

[Text] Tashauz Oblast (Turkmen SSR), 23 Aug—Today, on the border between Tashauz and Khorezm Oblasts, there was a routine meeting of party-government delegations from the neighboring republics, headed by S.A. Niyazov and I.A. Karimov, first secretaries of the Turkmen and Uzbek Communist Party Central Committees.

These meetings, businesslike and constructive, have become a tradition, as PRAVDA mentioned in May. On this occasion the delegations discussed progress in the implementation of earlier joint long-term economic and social programs for the development of the border oblasts and exchanged opinions on urgent matters. Special attention was paid to ecological problems in the Aral basin. I.A. Karimov and S.A. Niyazov also went to a number of farms in Tashauz Oblast, Turkmenia, and met with field and livestock unit workers. At the B. Chkalov kolkhoz a new secondary school was ceremonially opened, at which teaching will be carried out in Uzbek, at the request of the inhabitants. It is the 79th Uzbek school on Turkmen territory.

Turkmen Official Murdered; Killer Commits Suicide

PM2208093989 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] On 30 July 1989 Charygeldi Atalyyev, first secretary of the Geok-Tepinskiy Turkmen Communist Party Rayon Committee, was stabbed to death in his own home.

Charygeldi Atalyyev had worked consistently in the rayon since 1987 to improve sociopolitical and economic life and had exposed negative phenomena. He had waged a determined struggle against idlers and deceivers. This action by Charygeldi Atalyyev met with support among honest workers and, at the same time, caused anger and hatred among opponents of restructuring.

Mered Muradov—born in 1941, with a criminal record, and recently charged with slander—who committed the crime, has committed suicide.

The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Prosecutor's Office has instituted a criminal case and is conducting an investigation.

Organized Crime Still Rife in Turkmen Republic

PM2508084789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent M. Volkov report: " 'Owls' Appear During Daytime"]

[Excerpt] Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic—[passage omitted] At the beginning of August this year Turkmenia was truly shaken by a new, unprecedented crime. In broad daylight, at lunchtime, Charygeldy Atalyyev, first secretary of the Geok-Tepinskiy Rayon party committee, was murdered in his own home. At the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee I was told how a certain prominent man really tore his hair out when he found out this terrible news. The day before Charygeldy Atalyyev had been at his clinic and openly told him his worries. In his 2 years' work in the rayon he had dismissed many traders and other dealers occupying key posts, and, according to him, they were planning some action against him. The first secretary's interlocutor did not attach any significance to this conversation, although it was no secret that the crime situation in the rayon was worsening with each passing day. Not long before this six tonnes of alcohol had been stolen, a jewelers' store had been cleaned out, and one spring night somebody's evil hand had defiled the V.I. Lenin monument....

And one more thing. We say that perestroyka is akin to revolution, but we are in no hurry to defend its soldiers or its foremen. Of course, neither I nor our readers are calling on everyone to take up arms. But since we have a major fight against organized crime on our hands, we must be able to defend ourselves.

However, the law enforcement organ workers themselves are not in the best position. Their weapons are what is called "listed," and there are so many bureaucratic obstacles to getting access to them that sometimes it is impossible to obtain, let alone use them. The criminal world is well-informed about this. Hence the daring attacks. At lunchtime armed gangsters broke into the apartment of D. Bayramov, the new prosecutor of Charshanginskiy Rayon. The owner was not at home, so the criminals inflicted 16 knife wounds on his wife and four on his 11-year old son.... No sooner had A. Khodzhadurdyyev, deputy chief of criminal investigation at the Nebit-Dag city militia, reached the entrance to his home than he received two stab wounds.... N. Tashliyev, deputy chief of the Bayram-Aliyskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, was killed when he detained an armed robber....

As you see, the "owls" of crime are now hunting in broad daylight.

Those people are arming themselves actively. They are secretly mastering karate methods. In the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs I was acquainted with the latest operational reports. Almost every day there are killings or serious injuries involving the use of firearms. Some people keep entire arsenals at home. In the city of Bezmein, for example, one G. Savkin was detained for selling narcotics. In the search a military-type carbine, a barrel and a bayonet from an assault rifle, unregistered hunting rifles, TNT charges, and plenty of dynamite were confiscated from him. A certain S. Aliyev living in Ashkhabad had obtained a live grenade from somewhere.... In July criminals stole three carbines from the capital's water supply and sewage administration; admittedly, they were caught red-handed....

It goes without saying that Turkmenian readers were very enthusiastic about the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Resolutely Stepping Up Efforts To Combat Crime!" Almost everyone who comes to the PRAVDA correspondents' office supports the creation of special provisional committees. Some of my interlocutors, and particularly V. Vasilyuk, the republic prosecutor, and also K. Tachmamedov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, propose reinforcing this document by adopting a CPSU Central Committee resolution. That is to boost the party, and particularly local party organs. Because in the present state of affairs provisional committees in the oblasts and cities are basically subordinate to the executive committees of soviets, which have not undergone renewal, and they are used to looking to party committees, while the latter have not received proper instructions from the people.... [passage omitted]

Kirghiz Draft State Language Law Published

LD2408202989 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Frunze August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev:

Soviet Kirghizia, which has a population of four million, has published for public discussion a draft law on the state language. According to it, the Kirgizian language will be used in the republic's organs of state power and administration, in business correspondence. This will be done with obligatory translation into Russian, the language of inter-ethnical communication. All urban notices and signboards will be in two languages—Kirghizian and Russian. The state language will be an obligatory subject in educational establishments. All officials of organisations and enterprises, bound to communicate with citizens, will have to know and use the state language to an extent ensuring the fulfilment of their official duties.

Today Kirghizia is inhabited by representatives of eighty nationalities. The Kirghizians themselves account for slightly more than a half of this Central Asian republic's population. Although sixty percent of the indigenous population live in rural areal and speak only their native tongue, the latter has started to lose its social significance. The usage of Kirghizian has narrowed down and the urban youth have only a smattering knowledge of their native language.

"Taking part in the elaboration of the state language law were linguists, jurists, sociologists, broad sections of the republic's public circles", your correspondent was told by Medet Sharimkulov, chairman of the commission of the Kirghizian Communist Party Central Committee that drew up the draft. The main principle of the draft is that no one should be forced to use this or that language, that nobody speaking any other language should be discriminated. The draft contains an article on responsibility for violating the right of citizens to chose their respective language. It provides simultaneously for better tuition of Russian and other languages spoken in Kirghizia. Schools are being set up in the republic where lessons will be taught in the Uzbek, Dungan and German languages. Funds have been allotted to organize radio and television broadcasts and put out printed matter in many languages. The local organs of power are vested with the right to use the native languages of small ethnic groups in places of their compact habitation.

The draft envisages a gradual introduction of the state language over a period of ten years. Kirghizian language courses will be set up at enterprises. Work has already been started on textbooks and methodological aids for teaching the language with due regard for the age of those who wish to learn it.

The draft takes into account the specific conditions of this multinational republic. But there are different views on it. One of them is that state bilinguality (Russian and Kirghizian) should be legalized. These and other suggestions, advanced in the course of the discussion, will be considered by the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

Kirghiz Central Committee Plenum Held 28 Jul

LD1408134889 Frunze SOVYETTIK KIRGHIZSTAN in Kirghiz 29 Jul 89 p 1

[Excerpts] An information report on the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

On 28 July 1989, a plenum of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee was held.

First secretaries of town and rayon committees of the party not belonging to the Central Committee, chairmen of oblast, town and rayon executive committees; leaders of the republican State Agro-Industrial Committee; chairman of the oblast Agro-Industrial Committee and of agricultural associations of rayons of republican subordination; leaders of enterprises of the agro-industrial complex and of scientific research institutions; secretaries of the party committee; officials of the apparatus of the Kirghiz Communist Party [CP] Central Committee, of the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers; and workers of the press were invited to the plenum.

The plenum discussed the issue of the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee plenum on the task of the republican party organization in implementing the measures "on the present conditions of the agrarian policy of the party."

A report of the Central Committee Bureau on this issue was delivered by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Central Committee CP. [passage omitted] A resolution was adopted on the issue under discussion.

The plenum removed from control of the decision of the seventh plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee with regard of the accounts of S. Begaliyev and A.A. Sidikov. [sentence as published]

The plenum examined organizational matters.

The plenum released G.N. Kiselev from his duties as member and second secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Bureau in connection with his transferring to another job and leaving the republic.

The plenum coopted N.M. Chepelev as member of the Central Committee. He had worked as chairman of the Osh Oblast Executive Committee, and was elected as member and second secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum elected U. Sidikov as member of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Bureau and Dzh.T. Tumonbayeva as candidate member of Kirghiz CP Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum released I.V. Bidzhan and A.T. Khudyakov from their duties as members of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee and K.D. Bakanov as candidate member of the Central Committee in connection with their transfer to another job and leaving the republic at their own requests.

The plenum transferred M. Alimbekov, A.I. Kolesnikov, A. Kidirmayev from candidate members to members of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee.

The plenum confirmed N.M. Chepelev as chairman of the Commission for Organizational Party and Cadres Work under the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, and released G.N. Kiselev from this post.

The plenum abolished the decision of the ninth plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee regarding A.K. Sultanov. In alteration of this decision he was releaved of his duties as head of the department of transport and communications of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee in connection with his transfer to another job.

With this, the Kirghiz CP Central Committee plenum ended its work.

Backdrop to Tajik-Kirghiz Land Use Conflict

PM2408104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by special correspondents O. Latifi and Yu. Razgulyayev under the rubric "We Discuss the Draft CPSU Platform on the Nationalities Issue": "The Border Crosses the Street"]

[Text] Batken-Isfara—For the umpteenth month there is a complex situation on this green-garden section of the border between Kirghizia and Tajikistan. In July there were very nearly armed clashes here. Ostensibly it was over land and water. But if you look more deeply, the sources of tension must be sought in the serious social and political deformations which have built up here over the decades. An analysis is needed, for without a frank, impartial search for the answers to a whole package of questions the smoldering embers of the—at present—dampened conflict could burst into flame again.

"If it had not been for the militia and if the special troops had not arrived in time, it is dreadful to even imagine what we would have done, how much blood would have been shed, how many houses would have been blazed...." We heard similar revelations from both Tajiks and Kirghizes who very nearly plunged into a deadly clash over the manifestly protracted resolution of very acute land and water problems. We now recall some brief episodes.

Here is a chain of women and children along the road with small bundles in their hands and on their heads. They are refugees returning from the mountains or from shelters. Charred houses with broken windows, dried-up truck gardens, and withered gardens....

And here is a frenzied crowd rocking a minibus, and here a quite frankly awful video featuring a confrontation between hundreds and hundreds of people in the Uch-Dobo area. The newsreel clearly shows the danger of bloodshed increasing hour by hour and neighbors threatening one another, throwing stones, and trying to break through the multistrand chain of armed soldiers and militia.

If the militia and the special troops had not contained the onslaught of the crazed crowds at that time, the spark of psychosis between several settlements in Kirghizia's Batkenskiy Rayon and Tajikistan's Isfarinskiy Rayon could have given rise to a bloody blaze. A few kilometers away lay Fergana, already singed by death fires, the looted houses of Kokand, and on both sides of the border villages where Kirghizes, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turks, Russians, and Ukrainians live in alternate houses and alternate streets.

We believe that the law-enforcement organs will get to the bottom of the matter: Who fired, who attacked, who incited.... But the alarming thing is this—a "border zone" is sensed here, too, in the sphere of law. The data of the militia and the prosecutor's office do not always tally, and conclusions are drawn manifestly with a eye to one's own republic chiefs. At any rate, throughout our stay in the conflict region we were unable to secure from the republics' law-enforcement organs a joint paper, "with two signatures," on the chronology of events, on an assessment of the sides' actions, or even on the number of casualties. So there is a very real danger that the picture of events could long remain unclear and washed-out, for it is easy to conceal quite serious facts in a haze of disagreement.

But the conflict in Batken-Isfara did not begin in July or even in May, when a group of USSR people's deputies was urgently sent here along with the republics' top leaders. "Theoretical" preparations had been made for it.

In the recent negotiations, for example, we saw how one side responded to every document of the other side by quickly whipping out of a briefcase or a file a "more accurate," "most reliable," or "oldest" document. Maps first from the fifties and then from the forties, thirties, and twenties were produced. We also examined with interest a 1902 map. And at a meeting with elders in the village of Oktyabr a map of the Kokand Khanate was even brought out. Is it possible to find a basis for mutual understanding in such an historical maze?

We believe that these arguments convincingly characterize the complex and tangled nature of the conflict. There has been rivalry over borders in this region for decades. The 16th (!) parity commission has now been set up to specify the borders. And yet in fact there is no border here, since the materials prepared by one of the commissions at the end of the fifties were not approved by the Supreme Soviet Presidiums.

Let us dig still deeper: The conflict in Batken-Isfara is in no way an exception for the Central Asian region. Practically all republics make territorial claims—more acute ones against some republics, less acute against others. Border disputes have been discussed now openly, now in lobbies since those now distant years when, after going through various stages of autonomization, the modern borders of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia finally took shape.

Only these borders did not remain stable for long. The administrative-edict system, about which we now speak and write so much, ruled the roost here, too, bequeathing to us hidden potholes and underwater currents.

If you look today at the map of the Fergana valley, where rayons of Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan come together, you will be faced with a complete jumble of scraps, corridors, and enclaves, many of them so small that they simply cannot be marked on large-scale maps. Plus hundreds of thousands of hectares of pasture handed over for long-term use, access to which is also via "foreign" territory. It is enough to put your head in a spin.

But the complexity of cartographic work is still not the main point. We have repeatedly seen for ourselves in both Kirghiz and Tajik villages that people know exactly—this land is "ours" and that is "not ours," but most frequently these borders do not coincide with those marked on the map. Why?

Because, when redrawing the borders during those not so distant times, nobody asked people about this. Questions were asked and resolved virtually by the republics' leaders alone, at best within a "narrow circle" of retainers. For it is no secret that prior to the present Congress of People's Deputies the Supreme Soviet frequently "rubber-stamped" decisions made "up above." All the rest, belonging to various organs, heeded the opinion of "their own" leaders and acted in their name. The higher they stood in the hierarchy of the administrative-edict system, the easier it was for them to redraw borders, regardless, of course, of any articles of the constitution.

But alongside this the traditional ties which had taken shape over the centuries lived on, particularly in transhumance farming. Shepherds would lead their flocks to the customary winter and summer places. But there were fewer and fewer of them—with the rapid development of irrigated agriculture and the growth in the settled way of life problems of pasturing both public-sector and private livestock began to arise and become complex. Disputes at various levels were resolved in various ways, ranging from personal contacts and banquets among economic leaders to intervention by high union bodies. The latter would set some deadlines, evidently believing that everything would then somehow turn out all right, but life has its own laws, and time has only exacerbated the situation still further.

Certain rayons in both Kirghizia and Tajikistan have been forced to reduce or even eliminate public-sector livestock raising. This is bad. But it is still worse with regard to private livestock because, for the majority of rural inhabitants, this is, note, the only reserve of meat and a substantial source of income. There are increasingly frequent instances where people cannot graze their sheep and cows outside the settlement because that is their neighbor's territory and his leadership has issued an order "not to admit" outsiders. And from here it is but a step to conflicts and clashes. In particular, the events in Batken-Isfara developed in accordance with just this scenario. Some people barred the path of livestock to the customary pastures, while others filled with stones a canal taking water to their neighbors.

Many leaders see the rapid growth in the region's population as the only reason for these and other social problems. And this is so, at a first, superficial glance. Zones of old irrigation are becoming increasingly cramped, and once spacious private plots are being turned, as the result of development, into tiny yards where three, four, or even more families live.

In order to help people, intensive opening up of new lands has begun in the overpopulated valley. But, while partially resolving the problems, this has also introduced additional tension into interrepublic relations. Once again this is because of politicians (rather, political intriguers) who, misunderstanding the interests of their own people, tried to arrange their well-being at the expense of others. An overt and covert struggle began for water quotas, since the water flow, even taking reservoirs into account, is very limited, and so they hurriedly opened up lands without thinking about the rational utilization of precious moisture. And this in turn has had the result that not all the water reaches the fields and gardens.

It has to be admitted that this picture is typical of the region. It is almost everywhere just as tragic as in the Aral area. It cannot be said that this was totally ignored in the past: Even in the age of stagnation the press raised land and water issues and the region's related social problems. During the seventies and eighties PRAVDA alone published dozens of articles on this. Not as openly as now, of course, but it was written that rayons cut off each other's water and that during the watering season it was necessary to station representatives from other parts of the country on water distributors.

Anything went. Omnipotent leaders could use their position to call a halt to the commissioning of a hydroelectric power station in a neighboring republic and to blow up a dam and senselessly waste the water released from a reservoir, and they covered up conflicts and clashes that arose behind "7-day and 10-day festivals of friendship and fraternity."

To fanfares of internationalism dangerously explosive charges were frequently planted in real life, which still make themselves felt today. We could cite dozens of examples of this. A water main, say, is being laid. The shortest route lies through a village in the neighboring republic. Permission for this is not given, and the argument that joint use could be made of the water main does not change matters either. The first side is forced to route it a roundabout way and make it longer, naturally incurring considerable additional costs. Now some people have good drinking water, delivered, it is true, at a high price, while nearby, a few meters away, people suffer from thirst.

Each rayon builds a primitive airport—but its own (!) one—a few kilometers apart. But by pooling forces and means they could have a single decent airport, well equipped technically, with comfortable passenger halls instead of today's pigpens. Big aircraft would fly in to take out the fruits in which the valley is so rich and which perish by the tonne today, and less of that scarce land would be required.

Not just the economic inadequacy of such a policy is obvious. It inevitably sows enmity between people who for centuries have lived and will live next to each other, sharing their last piece of bread. Yes, some peoples have lived here from time immemorial, while others came later.

In the distant past there were raids and wars. But still the roots of today's conflicts lie far closer. They lie in the inordinate ambitions of certain leaders reluctant to make any compromises. They lie in the desire to separate by an unshakable border peoples who have lived together for centuries, but this policy is just as groundless as the system of land or water use divided by artificial boundaries is unreasonable. Not even nature endures such a thing.

The new leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan are today seeking ways to really resolve problems together. Ostentatious meetings with hypocritical speeches and toasts are being replaced by businesslike contacts and frank discussions. Both economic planners and informals are sitting down with officials around the negotiating table, but errors occur here, too. For, along the lines of the cooperation which has already become apparent, the republics' leaders could have sat around the negotiating table on the eve of the "events on the border" and quickly resolved problems which have long been of concern to neighboring villages. For it is a question of some few cubic meters of water and 100-150 hectares of land! But no, unfortunately they let time slip. And people began acting contrary to reason. This is a serious lesson.

Tajik Antidrug Teams Arrest Dealers, Others

LD2908130989 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Law-enforcement agencies have stepped up their fight against drugs in Soviet Tajikistan, a Soviet newspaper reports today.

Special anti-drug teams have been set with Internal Ministry officials, lawyers, members of the public and farming experts, the daily SELSKAYA ZHIZN says.

Mobile groups have checked all individual farming plots and most collective and state farm lands. Highway patrols were checking cars and luggage.

The effort has already led to the destruction of more than 10 hectares of cultivated and 90 hectares of wild narcotics plants. A total of 118 people were charged with cultivating drugs, ten dealers were arrested and two traffickers detained.

Tajik Officials Deny 'Canadian Invitation' Rumor

PM2408150989 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 12 Aug 89 p 4

[V. Vorobeyev article: "How Do You Get to Canada? Or Once More About Rumors and Gullible People"]

[Text] "Tell me, is it true that you can go to Canada? How can you do this?" the voice down the telephone shook with impatience.

The first of these telephone calls to the editorial office was admittedly quite amusing, but after the 20th call we somehow no longer felt like laughing. It became clear that the latest wave of rumors concocted in some unknown cookhouse was sweeping through Dushanbe. The telephone voices cited such sources as the BBC, VOA, DEUTSCHE WELLE, and even our native "Mayak." The essence of the alleged report boiled down to the following: Inhabitants of the Central Asian republics of European descent can if they so wish emigrate to live and work in Canada.

Let us stipulate once again: The editorial office does not possess such information. However, wanting to help our agitated readers, we redirected their questions to a number of bodies and officials. This is what we heard.

Yu. Solovyev, deputy chief of the republic bureau of employment and information for the population: People also turned to us with this these fantastic ideas. We have one answer—we are not recruiting any work force for foreign countries. We do not have any information regarding the "Canadian invitation." Our sphere of influence lies within the union. Where necessary we conduct organized recruitment of manpower resources for Kazakhstan, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. That is all....

A. Ibodov, chief of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs Visas and Registration Department: People wishing to go to the other side of the Atlantic asked us either singly or in groups to provide them with an exit visa. Such requests evoked nothing but perplexity in our staffers. We have received no information through official channels on this question. Since the number of inquiries has continued to rise, we have had to post a relevant announcement in the foyer. Now visitors do not distract staffers from their business, they read this and go away....

S. Mirshakarov, head of a Tajik Foreign Ministry department: I know as much about this as you do: Some radio supposedly reported this at some time.... These rumors are possibly being circulated by someone for a definite improper purpose. It would be good to reassure the population. ...That is an opinion shared by competent people. It looks as though that someone's "false report" has once again caused an unhealthy hullabaloo. However, the ease with which some of the population are prepared to believe obvious cock-and-bull stories cannot help but alarm us. This provides food for thought.

Tajik 'Green' Activists Resume Dam Protest

LD1908142789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0440 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Rogun, 19 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Galina Girdneva reports:

"Green" pickets have again appeared in the central square of this Tajik town. Activists from the Association for Culture and Ecology are holding protest meetings against the continuing construction in the Pamir mountains of the Rogun Hydroelectric station and its high dam.

In July of this year, under pressure from public opinion, the government of Soviet Tajikistan (Central Asia), decided to reduce the height of the dam by 35 meters. [passage omitted]

The "Greens" have decided to send their memorandum, which has been signed by thousands of local inhabitants, to the coming USSR Supreme Soviet session for consideration.

Status of Autonomous Republics Examined

PM2408150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by B. Zheleznov, candidate of juridical sciences, associate professor at Kazan University, under the rubric: "We Discuss the Draft CPSU Platform on the Nationalities Question": "What Can Autonomous Formations Do?"]

[Text] An unusual meeting took place last December at the Tatar CPSU Oblast Committee Ideological Department. They discussed the draft theses of the platform proposed by the Tatar Social Center—an informal organization, which advocates, in particular, the transformation of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] into a union republic—which had not yet been published at the time.

Virtually no one had doubts about the platform's GENERAL IDEA but the claim made by the draft's authors that all Soviet autonomous formations without exception are the result of Stalin's policy of "autonomization" prompted caution. That is supposedly why we have differences of legal status while both Lenin and the party seem not to have made provision for such differences.

Time has shown that the authors of such claims are not on their own: I have also come across this idea in newspapers and journals. What is this—incompetence or pragmatic substitution of concepts?

First a word about the actual concept of "autonomization." It was used by V.I. Lenin in his well-known letter entitled "On the Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization'" (1922), which contained, as is well known, trenchant criticism of the views set forth by I.V. Stalin, who proposed transforming existing sovereign republics into autonomous republics and including them within the the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and autonomizing them rather than creating the USSR as a federation founded on a treaty between equal sovereign republics. Consequently, although the concept of "autonomization" is linked with the name of Stalin, it has no bearing on the process of creating autonomous formations: The party rejected Stalin's plan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was proclaimed 30 December 1922. As for the autonomous formations, one must not forget that they arose in the course of historical creative activity on the part of the people's masses themselves and this began in 1918 with support from the party, moreover V.I. Lenin personally signed a number of decrees regarding the formation of autonomous republics, notably the decree of 27 May 1920 regarding the formation of the Tatar ASSR.

Did Lenin regard autonomous formations as equivalent to the union republics in terms of legal status? That cannot be affirmed. Vladimir Ilich indicated that the organs of the autonomous formations have a right to resolve questions of purely local, oblast, or purely national significance on the basis of general state legislation. Lenin did not deviate from this viewpoint in any of his subsequent works. Admittedly, in a number of cases he gave the concept of autonomy a broad meaning, referring to any form of independence and self-determination for nations. But in the narrow specialized meaning of the word Lenin only regarded autonomy as a special form of national statehood different from sovereign forms. In his last work on this subject—the aforementioned letter "On the Question of Nationalities or of 'Autonomization'"—Lenin drew a clear and quite obvious line between sovereign states and autonomous republics. The main forms of autonomous formation also took shape there.

The fact that in the years of Soviet power the industrial potential of the autonomous republics has increased hundreds of times over cannot be denied. For instance, the overall volume of industrial output in the Tatar ASSR has risen by a factor of almost 800! Financing for the republic's major construction projects and enterprises from the union budget and the RSFSR budget, the transfer of the requisite material resources to the republic, aid from specialist cadres, and provision of extensive scientific and technical information facilitated this to a decisive degree. The names of the Tatar poets Gabdulla Tukaya and Musa Dzhalil and the composers Salikh Saydashev and Nazib Zhiganov are renowned far and wide outside our country. But the Tatar land became home not only to the Tatar people: The Chuvash and other peoples living in our republic have given the country many glorious names. Can we close our eyes to this? Today, when the national consciousness of the masses is growing rapidly in conditions of real socialist democracy trenchant debates about the fate of our autonomous formation are also natural. One of the main problems of this debate is the following: Is it not time to equalize the legal status of all union republics and autonomous formations altogether?

There were cases IN THE HISTORY of the Soviet state when autonomous formations became union republics. I also remember the reverse happening—the transformation of the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] into the Karelian ASSR. There is no Wall of China between the forms of Soviet national statehood. So, any form, say, an autonomous republic, has the right to insist on being transformed into a union republic and that would be an understandable and natural formulation of the question—especially if it is a matter of such major industrially developed republics as the Bashkir or the Tatar ASSR's. Nor does the absence of external borders impede this transformation. But any question of this kind must be resolved in a concrete manner, with consideration for the special features of the autonomous entity in question and with the consent of the other members of the federation; one cannot demand—as some hotheads want—that the differences between absolutely all forms of national statehood be eliminated today at a single stroke of the legislative pen without relying on strict scientific criteria.

In that case what must be done now, without abandoning the historical forms of autonomous statehood, to compel these forms to serve the interests of the peoples and the entire country in the optimum fashion?

I believe that at least two main tasks need to be resolved for this purpose: First, we must strive to make effective use of autonomous formations' existing powers, second, we must substantially strengthen their legal position and enrich their competence which, in my opinion, was quite fully reflected in the draft CPSU platform.

As for the first task, one must be honest and acknowledge that we have still not learned to make use of even our existing powers. It is incredible but it is a fact that in the 10 years since the adoption of the existing constitutional legislation none of the RSFSR's 16 autonomous republics have ever employed their right of legislative initiative in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Take the legislative activity of the autonomous republics themselves. They have the right to adopt laws on a whole range of questions under their jurisdiction. Their supreme representative bodies do in fact mainly resolve questions of planning and the budget and other routine questions.

No ASSR has yet adopted effective laws regarding its national culture, language, and citizenship or has legislatively enshrined its own targeted socioeconomic programs. Many ASSR's have no laws on nature protection. Yet who knows, if the Karakalpak ASSR had adopted a law on local nature protection in good time, it might very probably have succeeded in retarding the formation of swamps in the steppes and prevented the destruction of the Aral.

I am convinced that, proceeding from the principle that "a strong center means strong republics," **the further improvement of the status of our national states must be based mainly on the development of state-legal unity between union and autonomous republics by closing the gap as far as possible between their legal powers; we need rapprochement rather than opposition between competences, which may be effected primarily by broadening the rights of the autonomous republic and giving these rights material backup on the basis of regional economic accountability**. The reasonable broadening of legal powers must also apply to other autonomous formations. But one must not rule out the possibility of any autonomous unit transferring to higher forms of national statehood.

The experience of Tatariya indicates the expediency of this approach. For instance, our republic's public is spending a great deal of effort to impede the construction of ecologically harmful enterprises but often loses the battle against the central departments. As a result the population is suffering, passions are raging, and nationalists are deriving benefit from it. So maybe one should be more bold and **grant the republic the right to suspend the central departments' decisions regarding the construction on its territory of facilities that lack reliable ecological appraisal and at the same time lack a social, transport, and power infrastructure?** The draft platform opens up scope for this.

We must also discuss direct relations within the country. **Autonomous republics must also have the right to independently trade on the international market**. And a certain proportion of the currency received from the sales of output abroad, for instance, oil, should be left at its disposal. Does this not seem just if you recall that Tatariya has already provided the country with more than 2 billion tonnes of oil?

The status of the autonomous formations will be more stable if we clearly define the concepts for the existing forms of autonomous formation in the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the relevant union republics; it is also hard to disagree with the proposals to introduce a bicameral structure for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, even if representatives of both autonomous formations and the Russian people work in this eminent body's Soviet of Nationalities. **Autonomous republics need constitutional oversight committees capable of reacting effectively not only to the ASSR's acts but also to acts on of the union republic and even the USSR that violate the ASSR's rights.**

Of course, there are also other reserves enabling the status of autonomous formations to be consolidated.

Ligachev Addresses Moscow Conference 17 Aug

PM2408132389 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric: "Food Program: Means of Implementation": "Improving Vegetable Supplies"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The party Central Committee March plenum revealed broad opportunities for developing agricultural production and introducing new forms of economic activity.

It was from the standpoint of the demands made by the plenum that the state of Muscovites' provision with fruit and vegetable produce and potatoes along with measures to improve it were examined yesterday [17 August] at a conference held in the Moscow City Party Committee [gorkom] and Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] Sociopolitical Center. [passage omitted].

The conference was opened by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom], delivered a report. [passage omitted].

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, summed up the results of the discussion.

He dwelt in detail on the reasons for the current situation and measures to improve the supply of this produce for the population of the capital and the capital area. The main thing is that volumes of potato, vegetable, and fruit deliveries to Moscow are falling in an unfounded manner.

This is above all due to the low potato, fruit, and vegetable harvest and the reduction in the responsibility of leading cadres at local level for the fulfillment of delivery plans. And secondly to the imperfection of the economic mechanism.

It is time to firmly set about organizing vegetable growing using progressive technologies. It is important to combine these technologies with economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] relations, the contract, and the lease.

As of next year in accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum new relations are to enter into force between producers and consumers—delivery of potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce at contracted prices. Contract prices are being introduced in conjunction with state regulation of retail prices.

He talked particularly about the development of economic ties between collective farms, state farms, and industrial enterprises, between Moscow and the country's major industrial centers, and oblasts, krays, and republics producing fruit and vegetable produce. Economic ties are now being established between Moscow and Astrakhan Oblast. They have also been developed in the Ukraine and in Tyumen and Belgorod oblasts. Economic relations between the city and the countryside are founded on a voluntary contractual basis, on mutual interest.

Economic cooperation between industry and agriculture is being coordinated with the planned perestroyka of the leadership of the local economy on the basis of self-management and self-financing and reveals additional possibilities for improving cities' food supply and strengthening the economy of the farms producing this output.

We must, Ligachev said, create an organizationally and economically modern production system for the procurement, transportation, storage, and sale of output—a system that comprises wholesale bases in production and unloading areas and in areas of consumption—Moscow and Moscow Oblast—and also incorporates refrigeration, transportation, and processing facilities for agricultural output.

The city party organization and the capital's soviet and economic organs must devote the maximum attention to strengthening the storage and trading base. We cannot improve supplies without a resolute spurt here. Consumer cooperatives can and must do a great deal.

The capital's supply situation is also further aggravated by the fact that cities in the Moscow area receive half or one-third the volume of provisions per inhabitant that Moscow does. When planning delivery of food products we must be strictly guided by the fact that Moscow and Moscow Oblast are a complex, a unified whole.

Party committees and soviet organs in Moscow and also in oblasts and republics delivering produce to the capital should examine thoroughly the progress made in their fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Measures to Improve the Supply of Fruit and Vegetable Produce and Potatoes for the Population of the Cities in Moscow and Leningrad Oblasts."

The worst bottlenecks in the fruit and vegetable operation must be ascertained and we must determine what extra work suppliers and recipients should do to improve supplies for the population. It is necessary to activate economic accountability [khozraschet], lease relations, and the contract more fully both in production and delivery of output and in the work of Moscow's fruit and vegetable bases and stores. These questions should be discussed in labor collectives. Party committees and organizations should organize this work.

Agricultural combines must be developed and strengthened comprehensively, combining production, storage, processing, and trade and we must embark more boldly on creating state-cooperative wholesale-retail fruit and vegetable associations.

As in any matter, improving Moscow's fruit and vegetable supply depends to a crucial extent on work with people—vegetable farmers and employees involved in transport, storage bases, processing, and trade. More concern must also be shown for them and for resolving their urgent needs. Economic and trade union bodies must particularly engage in organizing production life at vegetable bases and processing enterprises.

We must really involve people in management through economic accountability, labor collective councils, and general meetings and develop criticism of immediate leaders, workers, and specialists. It is important to form stable labor collectives and enhance the prestige of people employed in the country's fruit and vegetable economy.

In conclusion Ligachev said the following:

"You will agree, comrades, that we are today examining a question which affects the interests not only of the population in the capital but also in many areas of our country.

Consideration for the interests of people and their implementation is politics and, thus, our concern. People will judge our work by the food shelves—not in the remote future, moreover, but today and tomorrow. This must be borne in mind and time must not be wasted."

The following took part in the work of the conference: I.I. Skiba, head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; Yu.A. Prokofyev, second secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.K. Belyaninov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; A.T. Shamonin, secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom; I.M. Cherepanov, chairman of Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee; Yu.M. Luzhkov, first deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom and chairman of Moscow City Agro-Industrial Committee; Yu.V. Korolev, first deputy chairman of the Moscow Oblast Soviet and chairman of Moscow Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee.

After the conference its participants were familiarized with the work of the "Koloss" Production Association and the Sokolnicheskiy Fruit and Vegetable Association.

Minister Vorontsov Discusses Enviroment

AU2808182189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 28 Aug 89 pp 130-140

[Interview with USSR Environment Minister Nikolay Vorontsov by Henrietta Bilawer and Hans-Peter Martin in Moscow: "Exhaust Fumes Wake Me Up at Night"; date not given]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Nikolay Nikolayevich, why did you accept your appointment as environment minister by the Supreme Soviet? Your daughter said: "Now my father has gone crazy."

[Vorontsov] My daughter said this even though she can hardly imagine the full extent of the difficulties I am faced with—although we speak a lot about environmental issues at home and there are seven biologists in the family.

[DER SPIEGEL] Premier Ryzhkov had to look for a long time until he found a candidate.

[Vorontsov] For our country an environmental ministry is something very new, it was established only 1 and ½ years ago. Its functions, rights, and possibilities are hardly known. Even I am not quite sure yet which paths we have to follow and which levers we have to pull.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are the first minister without a Communist Party book in the history of the Soviet Union.

[Vorontsov] The first, but certainly not the last. Our society has simply reached the point where the party book no longer plays a particular role. I think it should not be a precondition for a job, either. The only thing that is decisive now is whether an expert can be found for the job. The most important thing is professionalism, organizational talent, and experience in administrative matters.

[DER SPIEGEL] But there is certainly a difference in whether someone is subject to party discipline or not.

[Vorontsov] This has changed, too. Pluralism is becoming apparent in the CPSU. In the Supreme Soviet the various opinions of the speakers could not be classified according to whether they came from a party member or from a nonparty speaker. Everyone simply expressed his own opinion on one topic or the other.

[DER SPIEGEL] This is new. The London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT wrote that in your sphere of responsibility you are facing a "Herculean task"....
[Vorontsov] Yes, I know, he had to clean the stables of Augias. Of course, I have a lot to do. But his also applies to many other countries, the United States, for instance, even though environmental protection there is much more developed than in the Soviet Union. I think that we could discuss a great number of problems with U.S. environment head William Reilly, if we sat at the same table. In addition, our country is enormous—it covers one-sixth of the earth's surface.

[DER SPIEGEL] Despite the nationality conflicts and the economic crisis, Mikhail Gorbachev considers "the ecological situation to be probably the biggest problem in the country."

[Vorontsov] Gorbachev is right. Even though it is not my habit to support a head of state in every question, I have to say that his concern reflects the actual situation.

[DER SPIEGEL] TASS has just reported that in the remotest northeastern part of the Soviet Union, on the Chukotka peninsula, because of nuclear tests in the 1950's and 1960's the inhabitants are still exposed to a similar dose of radioactivity as the people near the site of the Chernobyl disaster.

[Vorontsov] I have not yet seen this report. May I copy it, please? We will thoroughly check this report.

[DER SPIEGEL] At the same time, TASS also reports that the fish in large stretches of the Volga River are contaminated by mercury to such an extent that children may suffer health damage, inability to concentrate, depressions, and eye damage, if they eat only a few hundred grams of these fish per week.

[Vorontsov] I know about these measurements. In 1987 sturgeons were massively contaminated by mercury. Therefore, it is really not advisable to eat 300 grams of black caviar at one time.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you not have to ban the consumption of fish now; along the lower part of the Volga River in particular, it is a principle food?

[Vorontsov] These things are really very alarming. Part of the mercury comes from companies that produce soda using a completely outdated process. As you know, we have problems with the supply of soap. If today we decide to protect the fish and to close down an outdated soda factory, we will have even less soap—a vicious circle.

[DER SPIEGEL] This time, however, we learn from TASS that the contamination was probably caused by seeds that had been treated with mercury. It was washed out and large amounts of it seeped into the Volga River.

[Vorontsov] I am not a chemist: Mercury in seeds, is this possible?

[DER SPIEGEL] In the past mercury was added to pesticides to combat parasitic fungi. In the FRG this has been banned since 1980.

[Vorontsov] Then Western civilization is also partly responsible, and the people working in our foreign trade are also partly responsible. Since the Iron Curtain had existed for such a long time, every visit to another country was a special event. In our country the compulsive notion developed that everything that is done in the West is good. Thus, our chemists and engineers let themselves be tempted to use excessive amounts of fertilizers and pesticides. Then Western companies started selling us products which have not been used in the West for along time or are even banned. Our foreign trade employees greedily grabbed these things and were proud to purchase the goods at such a low price. Through this our territory has become intensively polluted, and that at the cost of our scarce foreign currency.

[DER SPIEGEL] Not only the Soviet Union is suffering from these fatal circumstances, but also the entire Third World.

[Vorontsov] I understand this, but we do not consider ourselves as belonging to the Third World.

[DER SPIEGEL] We did not mean this.

[Vorontsov] However, our country has some foreign trade bureaucrats that are below Third World standards. This, too, is the result of a time when people were selected for foreign trade and the diplomatic service according to their political career, and not according to their professional qualifications.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nevertheless, you could ban the consumption of fish from the Volga River.

[Vorontsov] Unfortunately—or perhaps fortunately—the fishing enterprises there were neglected very much, and the people are no longer eating that much fish. Nevertheless, cases of poisoning cannot be ruled out, of course.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the capital city, too, serious diseases might occur because of environmental problems: We were warned to drink only boiled tap water.

[Vorontsov] Moscow's water is strongly chlorinated, but you can drink it without any problems. However, I would not advise you to drink water in Leningrad without boiling it first, because it contains tiny parasites which may give the city's guests intestinal problems if they use the water to clean their teeth, for instance.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why only guests?

[Vorontsov] The inhabitants of Leningrad are already immune.

[DER SPIEGEL] One cannot say this about the incredible air pollution. In many Soviet cities the amount of pollutants is 10 times, sometimes even 50 times higher than the threshold values set by WHO—and on an annual average. Should these cities not be evacuated?

[Vorontsov] What if you ask the question in this way: One should, perhaps, rather evacuate industry from the cities. One should make some calculations about what would be better from the economic point of view.

[DER SPIEGEL] So far 102 cities are officially affected; well-informed scientists told us that the air is polluted to such an extreme extent in 180 cities already.

[Vorontsov] I cannot yet confirm these figures. I simply do not know what is true. However, whether 102, 120, or 180 cities—this is not the basic question. As we scientists say: These are figures of the same range, all of them are sufficiently alarming.

[DER SPIEGEL] And what is being done to combat this?

[Vorontsov] Some things have already been done, some progress has been made: 20, 30 years ago one could see a cloud of smog over Leningrad from afar. Now it has disappeared because the wood, coal, and oil heaters have been changed to natural gas. I would like to know one thing: What do you think about Moscow's air?

[DER SPIEGEL] From the airplane we could see a cover of smoke that was sort of yellowish because of the large amounts of sulfur dioxide. In Los Angeles or New York this is no longer quite as bad as here; in Mexico City or Sao Paolo the situation is as bad as here.

[Vorontsov] Of course, I do not want to idealize our situation; it is different in the various city districts. Some windows of my apartment, for instance, look out onto Lenin Prospekt. If I open them at night I always wake up because of the bad air. The exhaust fumes from the cars wake me up. In the other rooms the air is good.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you know how many heart attacks and cases of asthma and pulmonary disease are caused by the polluted air in Soviet cities?

[Vorontsov] The Health Ministry has such statistics.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why are they not published?

[Vorontsov] At the moment a decree by the USSR Council of Ministers is being prepared, which is to say that ecological openness is an indispensable precondition of our life. A comprehensive report on the environmental situation in the Soviet Union will also be published soon: Ecological glasnost is beginning.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will we then also know how many victims the Chernobyl disaster really claimed, including those who are condemned to death, malformed, and suffering from cancer?

[Vorontsov] The press and the Health Ministry have published a certain amount of data. Radioactivity is checked by the State Committee for Hydrometeorology; my ministry is not responsible for this. One-fourth of the soil of the Belorussian Soviet Republic comes under to the radioactively contaminated zone. Radioactive iodine has a very short half-life; today we can only wait to see the consequences of this contamination, also concerning thyroid cancer—and 10 percent of the cases are lethal. However, radioactive cesium has a very long half-life. There is practically no way of biologically eliminating radioactive cesium. As a geneticist I consider the situation frightening.

[DER SPIEGEL] What is the future of nuclear energy in the Soviet Union?

[Vorontsov] Under conditions in which there is highly-developed technology and with professional work discipline, nuclear energy can be considered safe to a certain degree, in my view.

[DER SPIEGEL] But these conditions do not exist.

[Vorontsov] The fast development of nuclear energy in our country was a mistake. It was based neither on good technology nor on the utmost professionalism of all people working in this sector.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nothing is changing. In Chernobyl one of the reactors has to be switched off about twice every month because of some mistake. Nevertheless, no one in the government talks about dropping out of nuclear energy.

[Vorontsov] Together with other ministries we now have to analyze and think about which energy source is economically more favorable in terms of its development and utilization.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are there already specific considerations?

[Vorontsov] Unfortunately, we are lagging very much behind other countries in researching the use of solar energy. But now we are working for the first time on a project for a tidal energy power plant and are dealing with geysers and hydrothermal subterranean streams, like the ones that have been used on the Kamchatka peninsula for about 20 years.

[DER SPIEGEL] So far, your government has preferred to throw itself into large-scale technological adventures. Has the plan to divert the large European and Siberian rivers to the south to irrigate the fields there finally been shelved, at least?

[Vorontsov] I think that this absolutely stupid project has been stopped for good. Every normal thinking person knows that we cannot pump distilled water through canals and pipes, but water that contains plankton and germs, which might have unpredictable ecological consequences if they are suddenly transferred to another area.

[DER SPIEGEL] Parts of this project have allegedly been already started, such as the Volga-Chorgray canal.

[Vorontsov] The construction of this canal has been officially prohibited.

[DER SPIEGEL] And unofficially?

[Vorontsov] I cannot tell you this at the moment. Perhaps I will not yet know anything specific for half a year. Our country is simply so big.

[DER SPIEGEL] If a big country is so difficult to rule, the decisionmaking power could be decentralized.

[Vorontsov] Concerning the canal problem in particular, this is difficult because the various republics have different interests. Many representatives from the Central Asian republics argue that they do not get any water, simply because Russian nationalism is at work: We consider water to be too valuable to share it with the people in Central Asia. Here we have to do a maximum of education work.

[DER SPIEGEL] This would also be necessary in the case of other major projects, for example with the draining of the Aral Sea....

[Vorontsov] A sheer ecological disaster, which was initiated by Stalin's 1948 "nature modification plan"....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...the pollution of unique Lake Baykal, the danger of tectonic changes by draining huge amounts of water from Lake Sevan in the earthquake-stricken area of Armenia, and so on.

[Vorontsov] This is all megalomania, which has to be fought against. In the course of my scientific work near the heavily criticized cellulose combine at Lake Baykal, I personally observed the fact that rare cases of mutation in ladybugs occur 70 times as frequently as in other areas.

[DER SPIEGEL] Aleksey Yablokov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a biologist like you, has tried to set up an ecological balance for the USSR: According to his results, up to 40 percent of the 287 million Soviet citizens "live under unfavorable environmental conditions," and 20 percent live in "ecological disaster areas."

[Vorontsov] As far as these figures are concerned, I fully trust Yablokov. I was not able to check these figures myself, but I think that, on the whole, they are close to reality. If we were to apply the even more stringent FRG standards, the figure would probably be 100 percent.

[DER SPIEGEL] How could all this happen?

[Vorontsov] For too long most people's thinking was based on very large spaces. In our huge country the resources seemed inexhaustible, the forests boundless, land and rivers infinitely wide.

[DER SPIEGEL] Industrialization was developed ruthlessly.

[Vorontsov] The USSR has always idolized technocrats. However, technocracy was not born here but in the West and, by the way, to a considerable degree in the FRG. At the beginning of this century the motto was: Once man dominates powerful machines we will live in wonderful times. Before the 1917 Revolution our country was not developed in industrial terms. The first 5-year plans then adopted the Western cult for technology.

[DER SPIEGEL] Although the blind faith in technological progress emerged in the West, there have been active environmental movements in Europe and in the United States for 20 years, some countries even established environmental ministries 20 years ago.

[Vorontsov] Here I have to bring in the argument of the USSR's size once again, compared to which even the FRG is a small country, where ecological problems became obvious at an earlier stage, which consequently led to the emergence of environmental protection activists. In the USSR ecological awareness is awakening only now, thanks to perestroyka. Scientists have always been aware of the precarious situation, but only recently has there been increasing support for "green" political movements.

[DER SPIEGEL] Unfortunately, an ecological change seems to be far off in the USSR. Your government has just published plans according to which the current, still modest, production of automobiles is to be doubled to 2.6 million units by 1995—of course without built-in catalytic converters. At the same time, the production of cooling plants based on fluorocarbon has only just begun—a further shock for the ozone layer, and a dangerous contribution to the heating up of the atmosphere.

[Vorontsov] We simply need more and better information so that we do not repeat the mistakes of other states. We want to propagate the idea of global ecology: All the people on the entire globe should have equal rights as far as living in a clean environment is concerned.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does this permit the conclusion that the USSR would be ready to do without increasing prosperity in order to spare the environment?

[Vorontsov] This is not the right way to ask this question. To reach a condition that is also satisfying from an ecological point of view means increasing the quality of life.

[DER SPIEGEL] Okay, but what would be the USSR's contribution?

[Vorontsov] For example, we, you, the Americans, would all have to pay to stop Brazil and other countries from further destroying their rain forests and increasingly endangering the global climate. Moreover, those peoples that live in harmony with nature—such as the Indians in the Amazon region or the Mansi here in northern Siberia—would have to be granted certain special rights different from those of the people who begin to settle in these regions.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about the way you treat your forests in Siberia? You also fell them mercilessly.

[Vorontsov] We will reduce this. We also have to change our way of thinking.

[DER SPIEGEL] Professor Vorontsov, can you make yourself and your ideas heard in the cabinet?

[Vorontsov] Some 400 people work in our ministry in Moscow alone; on top of this, we have many research posts, we control the 160 nature reserves of our country, and closely cooperate with the 15 environment ministries at republican level.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can your inspectors control the halt to overexploitation of the forests and can they order the shutdown of factories that are particularly harmful to the environment?

[Vorontsov] Yes, this has already happened. Without a license from our ministry's Ecological Experts State Commission it is now no longer possible to carry out any major building or industrial project.

[DER SPIEGEL] With such measures you are not likely to be very popular among your 56 fellow ministers, who mostly control economic spheres. Are you considered an unpleasant outsider within the state machinery?

[Vorontsov] I received many congratulatory telegrams, particularly from those ministries that are most responsible for environmental pollution: first, from the Ministry for Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, then from the Ministry for Fish Industry. I expressed my cordial thanks to them and told them in return that their telegrams proved that the ministers obviously understood the importance of the ecological problems that they still have to tackle.

[DER SPIEGEL] Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy has anticipated what you are probably up to: There will be a "fight" among the fellow ministers to ensure that universally recognized environmental standards will finally be laid down by law in the USSR as well.

[Vorontsov] We urgently need this fight. There are several means. One is the struggle against colleagues, another is information. After all, basically I do not consider anyone my adversary, I am guided by the principle that everybody must first be considered guiltless. If somebody is in charge of the oil industry, for example, I do not set out to consider him my enemy. However, if this person acts, for example, like my colleagues from the ministry that is responsible of oil and gas pipelines, who have largely destroyed nature on the Yamal Peninsula, then we have to wage very severe conflicts.

[DER SPIEGEL] How does this work?

[Vorontsov] From the minutes of the last Supreme Soviet meeting you can learn how I accused several ministries of ecological crimes. Consequently, some colleagues came up to me and asked for help from environmental experts, and promised that they will reform.

[DER SPIEGEL] What if they do not keep their promises?

[Vorontsov] Then they will feel sorry for it. I have one advantage: I do not want to become a hero, but I am in this office because I believe that it is a civil duty. I never strived to become a minister, and I will not try as hard as I can to stay in office. As soon as I realize that our appeals meet with deaf ears, I resume my scientific work. Period. Personally, I would not consider this a defeat.

[DER SPIEGEL] A threat to resign after only 10 days in office?

[Vorontsov] Not at all. Now the people in all the ministries understand that they will not have one quiet day if they continue to destroy the environment. Before, every minister knew exactly that he had to fulfill his plan for steel, coal, machine tools, and so on. If he failed, he had to quit. If he failed to fulfill his plan for the construction of purification plants he had to fear no consequences. Our ministers now have to come to understand that both things are equally important: the economy and ecology.

[DER SPIEGEL] When do you expect the first results of ecological perestroyka to show?

[Vorontsov] Much depends on our country's economic situation. By changing economic priorities and as a result of the continuing economic crisis we are facing 2 difficult years. Thus, we can hardly expect to receive more money for environmental protection than we did in the past.

[DER SPIEGEL] What happens if the economic situation has not changed in 2 year's time?

[Vorontsov] Then we will see. Then we will have to rely on public activities. I am a supporter of the theory of small steps. If we manage at least to halt the process of environmental deterioration, this is also a success.

[DER SPIEGEL] Only a few people will be satisfied with this. In the Baltic Republics, Latvia and Estonia, as well as in Armenia, the nationalist popular front movements, which are such severe critics of your government, have also emerged from environmental groups. Will the problems of nationalities in the USSR not dramatically aggravate if the environmental problems cannot be solved now?

[Vorontsov] Yes, they will, and social problems will be added. For example, the miners' strike in Siberia had nothing to do with questions of nationality, but, together with the social difficulties, ecological ones also became obvious in a very serious way.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will your government survive all this?

[Vorontsov] We have a new leadership in our country. Four years of perestroyka is not yet a very long period of time. We count on the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, and our hopes are based on it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nikolay Nikolayevich, thank you very much for this interview.

Official Discusses Language Issues in Education

PM2408095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by G. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education: "Meeting Each Other Halfway"]

[Text] The Soviet Union is a unique community of nations and ethnic groups. It is our common home. Our future and the future of perestroyka depend on whether we are able to build respectful, mutually enriching communication within this home.

Enormous attention was devoted to this at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Deputies spoke with emotion, ardor, and great pain of the senseless Stalinist accusations of treachery, the "punishment" of entire nations, and the serious consequences of the administrative-edict style of "leadership" of nationalities policy. The questions of preserving and developing national cultures and languages and the national awareness of our country's peoples were seriously raised at the Congress.

Reviewing the existing structure in such a delicate sphere as interethnic relations is no simple matter. We will not get very far if we cannot agree on certain basic points. I believe that we are all opposed to any forms of national inequality. We are all undoubtedly opposed to national coercion. We are all, I am convinced, opposed to diktat by one nation over another. And we are all, I hope, opposed to any national privileges. If we agree on these main points, we are in favor of real equality for all peoples living in our country. There is no doubt that this state of equal rights equally concerns the economy, politics, culture, and education.

The question of reviving the cultural-creative mission of schools and making the transition to a culture-forming system of education is now being seriously raised. We must at last realize that education and culture are not isolated concepts but indissoluble parts of one whole.

Education cannot exist in isolation from the social sphere. That is why it is necessary to overcome the alienation of teaching from society and from national traditions, special features, and conditions and ensure that it becomes organically fused with the real world of everyday life, work, and human contact. At the same time, schools must certainly rise above the cultural environment and prompt it to develop.

The harmonious combination of national-cultural identity and pan-human culture—this is the path we envisage for Soviet schools.

Clearly, Soviet schools must be founded on the premise of the dialectical unity of three principles: national, international-Soviet, and pan-human. Every graduate has the right to be proud of belonging to his native people and, at the same time, be aware that he is a citizen of our country and a representative of the entire human race.

Contempt for ethnic self-awareness over a long period of time and the practice of counterposing it to pan-Soviet awareness have led to appreciable deformations in people's national awareness.

The uniqueness inherent in every people and their cultural originality must be fully represented in the very first stages of education, starting with preschool education.

The problem of national language has become one of the most serious. Despite the official proclamation that national languages are flourishing, many of them now play a diminished role: The functions of the national language have been restricted to the confines of private, family life and the gap between spoken and written, literary forms has widened.

Article 20 of the Basic Principles of USSR Legislation on Public Education, which guarantees the right of a student or his parents to freely choose any language of the USSR peoples as the language of instruction, is a stable initial legal basis for a principled approach to this problem. It is absolutely democratic in essence and accords equal rights to all languages, regardless of the number of people who speak the language in question.

We believe that, in present-day conditions, the best option for our country is national-Russian or Russian-national bilingualism implemented on a voluntary basis. This means that every Soviet student is obliged to study just one language, chosen by him as the language of instruction (today this is usually Russian or his native language). At the same time, he can, if he so desires, study one other language of the USSR peoples. Two languages of the USSR peoples plus one foreign language is the optimum general linguistic training.

At present, however, the situation is that a large number of people do not have an adequate knowledge of either Russian or their native language.

Naturally, study of a language must be accompanied by the creation of a general cultural foundation. This means two things: First, the non-Russian student has to enter the world of Russian language and culture and, second, the Russian student living in a non-Russian environment has to grasp the language and culture of the surrounding people.

Present-day study programs and textbooks for general education schools do not get to grips with these problems. Children from schools where Russian is the language of instruction usually have a pitifully thin knowledge of the spiritual legacy of other USSR peoples, their achievements in modern art and literature, their life, and their problems.

There is another point that must be made. Representatives of any nationality must have a real opportunity to retain their identity irrespective of which republic they live in and regardless of what percentage of the republic's national composition they constitute. They must have the opportunity to teach their children in any language—whether a national language or Russian.

The Soviet history course reveals serious shortcomings. It does not sufficiently reflect many important facts and phenomena from the past of the country's national regions. Textbooks (particularly for the 7th and 8th grades) deal mainly with the development of Russian statehood and pay scant attention to interrelations between our country's peoples, their mutual influence, and mutual enrichment. And the fact that in multinational republics past eras are considered from the standpoint of just one nation, while the rest are apparently excluded from the historical process, is totally unjustified.

Schools must help children to perceive the history of the peoples at all levels: local, regional, republic, union, and world levels.

We believe that republic school and higher educational establishment [VUZ] textbooks on mathematics, physics, biology, and other natural science disciplines must show the contribution made by outstanding representatives of peoples and ethnic groups living in the territory of the republic concerned to the development of the specific field of knowledge and world culture.

A significant role in shaping international consciousness is played by literature. Literature conveys a natural, integral picture of the way of life and traditions of other peoples and fosters respect for other national cultures.

While being concerned to more fully satisfy national-cultural needs in academic establishments, it is very important not to run to the other extreme—artificial self-isolation. National isolation has never done anyone any good and is inevitably accompanied by spiritual impoverishment and degradation.

So far we have talked mainly about schools. But national problems do not disappear once you step outside. There is no doubt that the vital activity of VUZ's is characterized by a considerably higher level of internationalism. Possibly none of our universities and institutes train specialists solely for their own republic. You can understand why in technical VUZ's and VUZ's which specialize in the natural sciences teaching is conducted mainly in Russian, as it provides students with more direct, broader access to world information channels. But ignorance of the language of the republic prevents future teachers, doctors, and lawyers from close contact with people and their national culture.

The total domination of the Russian language in vocational and technical schools and technical colleges which train cadres for local enterprises and organizations is quite incomprehensible.

What do we see as the paramount measures to resolve the national problems which have accumulated in public education?

First of all, there must be measures concerned with language. If national-Russian bilingualism is to develop harmoniously and naturally, it is essential to create the conditions for the effective study of both languages, produce textbooks, and train teachers.

But the question of which languages will be taught in any given school must be decided by the school council in line with the wishes of the students and their parents.

I often hear the following response: "In the national republics parents choose Russian as the main language for their children and so the national languages are disappearing. Surely we have the right to protect our culture by introducing compulsory study of national languages?"

But is compulsory study in schools the only way to preserve a national language? Perhaps we should look for other ways? For example, we could broaden the sphere of its use and introduce state acts guaranteeing the use of national language in official practice and the communication sphere. We feel it would be possible, for example, to introduce a compulsory examination in the mastery of Russian and the national language on appointment to positions requiring contact with people of different nationalities.

Wherever there is true culture, national discord and the setting of one people in opposition to another are impossible. So let us meet each other halfway! This is the shortest road to happiness for every people and every individual.

Deputy Trade Minister Interviewed on Imports

PM2908113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with USSR Deputy Minister of Trade S.Ye. Sarukhanov by Ye. Sorokin under the rubric "Fact and Comment": "Ten Billion To Cope With the Shortage"; place, date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] It must be said that the majority of PRAVDA readers welcomed with approval the news that the state had earmarked R10 billion to purchase abroad goods in daily demand. We are so fed up with shortages of the most basic items that it seems no longer tolerable. "But somehow our store shelves have yet to become horns of plenty," L. Smirnova from Sortavala City in the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic writes in perplexity. "Where are the goods we've been promised?" The mailbag contains hundreds of letters along similar lines. Many of them express readers' concern: Could it be that imported goods have somehow ended up under the counter? Could this be a repeat of what happened before: Instant coffee arrived in the stores and instantly disappeared.

In order to dispel all the readers' doubts, we asked USSR Deputy Minister of Trade S. Sarukhanov to explain the situation concerning the 10 billion.

[Sorokin] Suren Yefremovich, what has the Ministry of Trade already acquired for foreign currency? On what basis did you compile the shopping list?

[Sarukhanov] We proceeded primarily on the basis of what is needed now. Admittedly it was not easy to compile the list of necessary commodities, seeing that it is easier to list the goods which are in plentiful supply. We took into account the wishes of republic ministries of trade and consumer societies. Contracts have already been concluded for the purchase of 67,000 tonnes of tea, 20,000 tonnes of children's milk mixtures, 32,000 tonnes of coffee beans, and 20,000 tonnes of instant coffee. Firms abroad will supply us with 220,000 tonnes of detergents and soap, 600 million razor blades, 40 million tubes of shaving cream, 20,000 tonnes of toothpaste, and 170 million pairs of panty hose including 50 million pairs of children's panty hose.

We have concluded contracts for the delivery of 30 million pairs of footwear, including 15 million pairs of winter boots. The R10 billion earmarked by the state will also be used to acquire other goods.

[Sorokin] You are talking of "rubles" rather than of "foreign currency." Does this mean that no foreign currency funds are involved?

[Sarukhanov] Yes, the 10 billion are our ordinary rubles.

[Sorokin] So where will the first consignments be sent?

[Sarukhanov] They will be distributed among union republic capitals and major industrial centers. The local distribution will be up to soviet executive committees. The deadline is the second half of this year. Sales will take place mainly at enterprises.

[Sorokin] Are any of the goods likely to be "diverted?"

[Sarukhanov] We will monitor this strictly. We will also use workers' control and the mass media. As far as we are concerned, we will strike all trade deals in an atmosphere of glasnost, ready to provide at any time information as to what quantities of imported goods have been shipped and where. Although you spoke somewhat ironically about the 10 billion ordinary rubles, believe me that the state had difficulties finding even that money. And we must do everything possible to ensure that the goods are not put aside but reach Soviet people according to the principle of social justice.

Now that the USSR Ministry of Trade has been given the functions of a direct partner of foreign firms, the conclusion of deals has become considerably easier and faster. So, as soon as foreign currency is available, the goods will immediately become available. Incidentally, many of our trade enterprises are establishing their own direct ties abroad. This is solid assistance to Soviet purchasers who are "starved" of good quality products.

People's Control Committee Chairman Cited

LD2308195489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] Now some statistics. According to the State Statistics Committee, material valuables amounting to R4 billion were defective, embezzled or damaged in the national economy last year. During processing alone we are losing as a result of mismanagement and embezzlement around 40 million tonnes of grain, more than 1 million tonnes of meat and 1.2 million tonnes of potatoes and other produce. Well, you'll agree that the picture is quite gloomy and it's against this background that the People's Control—from which we always expect a great deal—has, unfortunately, slackened its work. What are the tasks of the People's Control today? How does it now intend to organize its work? This was a topic of discussion at a recent session of the All-Union Provisional Committee for the Campaign against Crime. This is what Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, said about this, in part:

[Kolbin] We have work to do because the people's controllers among the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia are giving us a great deal of material—large [word indistinct] about the misdemeanors of individual managers and we are now setting the task in this regard of reacting to these statements and signals which are coming in to our organs. Reacting first and foremost, because at our last committee meeting we considered a statement of an accountant of the Yakutsk house building combine. In 1987 there was fraudulent accounting there to the tune of R110 million and for 2 years the combine hasn't been working. Moreover, I can tell you that—however strange it may be—that the headquarters was managed by one of the secretaries of the party oblast committee. So he couldn't fail to have been aware, or someone from among the leaders in the kray, couldn't fail to have been aware of the fact that serious false accounting was taking place. So how did it end? We started our struggle not by doing away with unfinished work, but with the accountant. For she was unemployed when the committee began its consideration. Well, there you are.

At the committee meeting next week we shall consider issues concerning a project in Tyumen oblast. The situation there was like this: The rayon people's control committee took transgressors in hand for mismanagement. Despite this, the union committee has not yet carried out an examination and in the middle of this year no one had changed anything.

It turns out that people's controllers, activists, are concealing shortcomings and that there are forces which are suppresssing these shortcomings. I would say that they wish to stimulate them. In this respect the following issues arise for us: Everywhere both local party and soviet organs and the leaders of ministries and departments are saying to the People's Control Committee—you have carried out an examination and observed shortcomings; in order to prevent an examination at the union or republic committee they say: Give us this material and we shall make complaints. We have been giving up the material—there has been this practice—and that's the last you see of it. This is a way of saving people who have slipped up. This has become the normal manner of conduct, and when we are all joining the struggle to strengthen discipline and order, there are people from among the high-up leaders who are not always within the reach of the system of our people's control organs and who are performing the role of saviors of their proteges. What I mean is that—certainly, we cannot place obstacles in the path of people whom we should trust, let us say a minister, a local party or soviet leader—we must continue to give them the opportunity and the right to resolve and to remove these shortcomings by themselves. That's right. But we are now formulating the issue in this way: We shall hand over the material, but on the decision of the People's Control Committee, the responsibility is placed upon them so that if changes do not subsequently take place, the petitioner himelf must answer to the law for what has been done by his subordinates. I believe that this is correct and I think it would be correct for us to appeal to the whole people as activist people's controllers to become involved in the identification of all shortcomings, of which we have plenty, and mismanagement so that this struggle against these negative phenomena is entered into on a universal basis. [video shows Kolbin addressing meeting]

'Illegality' of European Borders Dismissed

PM2108110389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by political observer V. Matveyev: "From the Baltic to the Black Sea.... What the USSR Was Seeking in Spring-Summer 1939"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] We could have won a victory over the invaders at a less painful price. But the fact that in this gigantic battle our country, although it took the main blow, was not alone but was a member of the anti-Hitler coalition was largely predetermined, however paradoxical it may seem, by the 23 August 1939 pact.

The threat of the actual union of the West's reactionary forces and nazism was averted.

Everything I have given an account of is not simply history. It is not for nothing that keen debates are now flaring up around the events of those years. Voices, and sometimes very persistent voices, are being heard talking of the "illegality" of the results of World War II with regard to what the USSR achieved from Berlin in 1939-1940 in the interests of its own security and the creation of a front to repel aggression on the scale of all Europe.

With the perspicacity which he had developed, Churchill stated with complete justification in his 1 October 1939 radio statement: "When Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow he had to acknowledge the fact that an end should be put to Nazi designs on the Baltic countries and the Ukraine."

The attempts of some historians, and not just historians, to dispute the legality of the present European map as regards the expanse from the Baltic to the Black Sea by references to the USSR's actions in 1939-1940 are therefore unfounded from the political and other viewpoints.

Here special emphasis is placed on what happened in the Baltic states. Of course it would be futile to assert that the Soviet troops' presence in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in the summer of 1940 played no part in the restoration there of the Soviet power abolished with the aid of the West two decades previously in these republics when Soviet Russia was unable to render them the necessary aid—as was done, for instance, by the Lettish riflemen with their struggle against the forces of internal and external counterrevolution on the side of Soviet Russia. The link between and interaction of the Baltic and Russian proletariat has deep roots. Therefore trying to explain the fact that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania joined the USSR in the summer of 1940 by citing exclusively what was achieved in connection with the 1939 Soviet-German nonaggression pact means removing one link from the chain of factors. The explanation is deeper and on various levels.

The close ties between Russia and the Baltic states have already been mentioned. They were based not on any artificial factors but to a considerably degree on the commonality of mutual interests. Even under conditions where, after the counterrevolutionary coups in the Baltic states, far from progressive regimes came to power, there were among them many figures who observed with alarm how Germany was elaborating plans to colonize those countries. Thus the "general East plan" elaborated by Rosenberg's so-called "continental-European research institute" provided for a 50 percent "Germanization norm" for the Baltic states alongside the physical annihilation of the "inferior population."

German archive materials based on the reports of Nazi diplomats and intelligence officers attest to how unpleasantly struck these residents of the "reich" were by the warm reception which the population of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia gave to the Soviet troops.

It was not for nothing that Lithuanians and Russians, Estonians and Ukrainians, Latvians and Belorussians fought in the same ranks against the Nazi invaders in the Baltic republics. Waverley Root, the U.S. author of the book "A Secret History of the War" ["Sekretnaya Istoria Voyny"] wrote: "Resistance to the invading Nazis was offered by well-organized partisan forces in the Baltic states."

History has crossed out what the aggressors tried to implement in their attempts to establish world rule. At the same time history has confirmed and enshrined what the collapse of these designs personifies and what is today a component part of the status quo on our continent. That is why political circles in the West which are not very friendly toward our country are disinclined today to support the voices of those trying, by their references to the protocols to the 23 August 1939 treaty, to cast doubt on some important results of World War II relating to the modern panorama of the European continent.

Article Concerning Stalin in 1939 Rebutted

PM2808135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

["Statement by NOVOSTI Press Agency"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In issue No 35 the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI published an article by Professor V. Dashichev, doctor of historical sciences, entitled "Stalin at the Beginning of 1939."

Its author effectively tried to embellish the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and France toward Hitler's Germany and their refusal to establish relations of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Every historian is entitled to his own reading of the facts. But neither a historian nor any objective person stands to gain from a distortion of the facts and of real events.

However, contrary to genuine and now well-known documents, the article claims that Britain and France took every measure in their power to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union in the summer and fall of 1939 and that it was the Soviet leadership which deliberately scuppered "the Western powers' projects and proposals on any pretext."

Nor does the author's assertion that the Soviet Union had an interest in the unleashing of World War II, which Stalin needed to "fan the world revolutionary conflagration in Europe" and export revolution to one or a number of countries, stand up to the historical truth. Even those ill-disposed toward the Soviet Union do not indulge in such fabrications.

Prestigious and respectable publications concerned for their reputation openly reject this kind of thing. The other day, for example, TIME magazine wrote: "Several times Stalin proposed to the Western powers that they conclude a treaty so as to curb Hitler's ambitions, but they ignored him!"

APN cannot but express its resolute disagreement with the newspaper's article. As the publisher of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the agency expresses its bewilderment at the fact that the editorial office did not find time to investigate the substance of the matter and thereby deceived its readers and showed a disrespect for historical facts.

Separate Memorial for Stalin Victims Proposed

LD2408133089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 19, 6 May 89 p 15

[Reader's letter by L. Anglickiene]

[Text] I do not place too much faith in God (it seems to me he is too indifferent to terror, here on earth), but I am not a Stalinist. This is why I think I can be totally objective in setting forth my reasoning. I agree with the reader E. Kaziliuniene that the term "Stalinism" is not appropriate for a spot considered sacred by the believers—Three Crosses Hill. Let this memorial remain as "as a deserving creation, by A. Vivulskis, for the purpose it was designed for" (J. Juskaitis and E. Ignatavicius). The proposal by R. Grigas to build a **common** memorial is—totally unacceptable. Why? This would be tantamount to having a common memorial for both the murderer and his victim. I don't think the bones of Rocius' victim would turn over, were he to be buried in the same grave. However, in life, they were irreconcilable enemies. Currently, we are forcing them to "reconcile," as if exploiting the inability, of the deceased, to object.

Some readers will reply, no doubt: How are the war dead buried? Frequently, both the enemy's and own soldiers are made to share a common grave. Front lines are front lines. Both the circumstances and the motives of the killings are different there.

Consequently, why is a common memorial being pushed: for reasons of economy perhaps—a separate plot, a couple of blocks of granite or some money, are being begrudged? Hardly so. The public has contributed a great deal of money, for that purpose, and contributions still continue. Hence, this supposition has to be ruled out. The following one is much more convincing: There are those who, apparently, would like to conceal, under the label of Hitlerite victims, a no lesser number of those martyrs, whom they are not so eager to recall, especially now. Nazis have been condemned throughtout the world. Memorials to mark the places of massacres, perpetrated by them, have not been held back, they are being talked about, to this day, **without censorship**. Alas, fascism of another color (colored red, as was once publicly stated by writer V. Petkevicius) has "labored" no less in Lithuania; thus, we should immortalize it accordingly. Murderers are murderers, regardless of what ideology they pursue. I don't think an idea is the basis for an individual's murder and torture. At least true democracy, which we now like to discuss so much, makes such a claim.

I think the deportees will agree with my proposal: They will never consent to have the fallen comrades of their common fate honored with a **common** memorial. The victims of Stalinism deserve a separate page in Lithuanian history.

It is highly disquieting to hear the small chord of "conciliation" resound in recent press with increased frequency. Let us not conceal the names and crimes of Stalinist criminals. They have more than deserved, at least, a denunciation by society and all mankind if not some court proceedings. Is it possible we are going to return to the "blank spots" policy once again?

Commissioning of Kuybyshev Oblast Plant Debated

LD2408113889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] In Kuybyshev Oblast there is a movement against the commissioning of the Chapayev works for destroying chemical weapons. It is a modern, highly automated enterprise with an ecologically clean technology for destroying poisonous substances. But it was built by the military department and in an atmosphere of strict secrecy in the center of a densely populated Volga region, which has caused the protests of residents of nearby towns.

The question of commissioning the plant has become the subject of discussion at an open town forum in the oblast center. Taking part were party, local soviet and trade union leaders, scientists, civilian and military specialists.

There are hopes that, as a result of the dialogue mutual understanding will develop.

Professor Interviewed on National Subdivisions

PM2508110589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with Professor E. Bagramov by K. Marklenov under the rubric "Nationalities Issue": "Boundaries of Sovereignty"; place, date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] How many state languages should there be in the USSR? Has the draft CPSU platform taken everything into account? Will there be a change in the national composition of the Politburo? These and other questions are raised in a conversation with Professor E. Bagramov, a Congress of People's Deputies expert on nationalities issues.

[Marklenov] Eduard Aleksandrovich, the recently published draft CPSU platform "Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Present Conditions" has attracted great public attention. What is your opinion of this document? In this connection, what has been happening recently in the sphere of interethnic relations arouses a sense of alarm and defenselessness in citizens. What, in your opinion, can be done to emerge from this difficult situation?

[Bagramov] I would not like to use such puffed-up words as "a major step in the development of Marxist theory" or "a model of a creative analysis of reality." But I will say for the sake of objectivity that we have in our hands a serious document distinguished by realism, self-criticalness, considered, clear assessments, and hostility toward dogmatism and the various kinds of distortions practiced in past years. It speaks specifically of ways to restructure the Soviet federation and to enhance the role and legal status of national autonomy. There is much that is new here. The party's position on the question of the rights of citizens of any nationality is formulated in a politically sharp and topical way. Soviet citizens must feel at home anywhere in the country. And I do not only mean the Russian-speaking population of a particular Baltic republic but the 60 million Soviet people who live outside their own national-state formations. The updated interpretation of internationalism strikes me as fruitful: It does not mean denying the right to what is national but, on the contrary, increasing attention to peoples' national interests and, at the same time, protecting values common to all mankind.

With regard to omissions in the draft, I would point to the somewhat one-sided, in my view, approach to state languages. Of course, it is the republics' sovereign right to introduce one. But, as life shows, apart from the positive aspects of its introduction there is also the potential danger of arousing discontent among that section of the "nonindigenous" population whose rights are not ensured constitutionally. While supporting the platform's thesis on the strict maintenance of languages' equality and on free choice of the language of study, I do not fully understand how this will be achieved if one language enjoys a privileged status.

But do small peoples really have less need of protection and support for their language, and is the Russian-speaking population in various republics not interested in this? I favor national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism. Taking into account the fact that every language is a tremendous asset and needs appropriate conditions for its development, the state will be acting correctly if it records in the all-union Law on Languages, which is now being drawn up, that all 130 languages are state languages in the USSR, since the socialist state shows concern for the development of each of them.

As for the second part of the question, it is necessary to create a modern concept of national relations and elaborate the mechanism of the nationalities policy. To work day by day on improving the whole atmosphere of interethnic relations. In short, to regard work in this sphere as an inalienable part of the revolutionary renewal of social life.

[Marklenov] The draft platform speaks about the ossified forms of the country's national-state system which have impeded the resolution of important questions in the sphere of national life. How has this been manifested, and how do you assess the ways denoted in the platform to transform the Soviet federation?

[Bagramov] I believe that this is one of the points in the platform which arouses the liveliest interest and an ardent debate. In my view, the structure of the USSR as it took shape 30 December 1922 mainly accorded with the conditions at that time. In actual fact, not all the peoples of Russia had an equal level of social development. Therefore only some of them secured the status of a sovereign union republic. Some of the peoples had barely torn themselves from the clutches of the clan-based and patriarchal system. National okrugs and rayons were created for them.

Today, implementing transformations in our multinational state, we are keeping to a course of filling the Soviet federation, the union and autonomous republics, and other national-state formations with real substance and rights. The draft CPSU platform quite rightly speaks of the need to enhance the rights of autonomy. I believe that, when finalizing the platform, it would be possible to say more definitely that key questions of autonomy could be resolved, where necessary, in union organs.

I believe that the draft should mention the possibility of raising the status of particular autonomous republics to union republics right now. Here we will evidently have to abandon one of the attributes of the union republic advanced in 1936—the existence of a border with foreign states. The artificiality of such a criterion is obvious. Why should precisely the possibility of seceding from the USSR be regarded as the chief attribute of a republic?

Finally, I see the Soviet federation in the foreseeable future as consisting not of 15 but, let us say, 50 or more equal Soviet republics united on the basis of a union treaty meeting the interests of each of them and of the federation as a whole. This would eliminate the notoriously hierarchical nature of the USSR's structure inherited from the past, and the principle of equality and sovereignty for all nations, for which V.I. Lenin campaigned, would triumph.

[Marklenov] Let us imagine that you have been given the floor at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum. What would you say?

[Bagramov] That the nationalities issue must not be reduced only to the problems of non-Russian peoples. Many have forgotten that the Russian people are a nation which has its own special features and urgent problems.

Russians have really set examples of internationalism. But anti-Russian sentiments are growing now in certain parts of our country. It is painful to hear of these facts. These trends must be fought against with the help of ideology and education. But it is necessary, in my opinion, to seek to establish the clear-cut structure of our state and social system.

There is asymmetry in the country's state structure. For the largest republic—the Russian Federation—does not have its own Communist Party, Academy of Sciences, or other important institutions. I believe that Russia needs its own capital, its own anthem, and, perhaps, its own flag, which would reflect the people's traditions.

The resolution of these and other questions connected with Russia's structure would make it possible to really debunk the idle arguments about the Russian "imperial consciousness," which have penetrated the press in a number of regions.

[Marklenov] Questions of giving back autonomy to Germans and Crimean Tatars will definitely be raised at the plenum. What is your attitude to these problems?

[Bagramov] I regard the question of giving back autonomy to Germans, Crimean Tatars, and other peoples who experienced Stalinist repression as a question of principle.

A sizeable section of the German population could move to the Volga region. There must be no further delay. Many former Soviet Germans who emigrated to the FRG and encountered great difficulties there openly declare that they would return to the USSR if autonomy were revived. This is not only an internal but also an important international issue.

The Crimean Tatars must also be fully rehabilitated. In my view, the relevant organs must stop creating obstacles to the settlement of persons of Crimean Tatar origin in the Crimea on a universal basis.

My proposal is this: to create, as a first step, a national region [rayon] for Crimean Tatars in the steppe region of the Crimea. At the same time it would not be out of place to revive regions also for the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Armenians who lived there before the war and were also expelled.

[Marklenov] When you reread the present USSR Constitution, you are struck by the absurdity of the principle of listing the union republics. The chief role is played not by the area of territory, nor by the size of population or the period of joining the union, nor even by alphabetical order. The list order seems to be determined by considerations to do with nomenclature. Judge for yourself: The top leaders of the first seven equal republics on the list used to belong or do belong to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. But under conditions of an unprofitable, funded economy such "selectivity" abandoned the principle of equality and, in certain cases, created in other peoples a feeling of insult, envy, and inferiority.

[Bagramov] It would be correct to list the republics in alphabetical order. We used to consider that a large republic formally, as it were, had more rights than a small one. This was manifested in everything. And even at the Congress of People's Deputies, where I worked as an expert, it was far harder for representatives of autonomies and of small peoples to get to speak than, say, for deputies from Moscow and the union republics.

As regards the composition of the Politburo, it is selected, as is known, not on national grounds but according to political and professional qualities. But, mindful that this question has big internal repercussions in the republics and also that it meets with different interpretations abroad (last fall I witnessed this at the time of the international congress of political scientists in the United States), I think a future party congress must choose a Politburo composition which will reflect more fully the CPSU's multinational structure.

[Marklenov] The levels of the republics' economic, social, and cultural development are dissimilar. At some stage common laws, statutes, decrees, and other unified normative documents have conflicted with the interests of the peoples of individual regions. How can such a practice be eliminated? Can the principle of a confederated system for the country remove the majority of the existing problems?

[Bagramov] World practice rejects the principle of a confederation as a normal state structure for the end of the 20th century. In general, this is a special subject.

As for the desire for a confederation—that is, for a formal union of states—expressed by a number of Baltic politicians: As a counterbalance to this the unification of truly sovereign republics within the framework of a federation will, in my view, better resolve the problems that arise.

[Marklenov] Does what is happening in our country resemble the separatist trends in Yugoslav republics and certain regions of China?

[Bagramov] Until recently we hushed up the friction that exists in our country. What is more, we "delicately" do not touch on the interethnic events in Romania and Bulgaria. Our people learn about that from Western "voices."

The economic difficulties both here and in other multinational socialist countries also affect the interethnic sphere. If we are talking about the USSR and the PRC, the democratic development of our nations in the past was slowed up to a considerable degree and even depressed. But now, under conditions of democratization, there is a rapid growth of national self-awareness and a noticeable desire among various peoples to strengthen their sovereignty and, among certain sections, even for separatism. All this is the result of deformations in democratic development and the filling of a vacuum after many years of rigid dictatorship and stagnation.

Let us compare the USSR and Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is a country where, with the departure of Tito, the center was noticeably weakened because it had almost no economic or financial base. In my view, this is one of the reasons for the collisions that have occurred.

But we have now taken a different course: strong republics and a strong union. And I think it is the correct course, because it takes account of other countries' experience. We need to study foreign experience, because some people have already had conflicts similar to ours and some people have simply avoided them.

[Marklenov] And, finally, a last question. Accusations (in a number of cases, fair ones) are being leveled at social scientists that during the "stagnation years" they described all events in a conflict-free, smoothed-over way. But now, it is said, they are saying something quite different, disowning the past. What would you reply to this?

[Bagramov] We social scientists perceive this criticism as proper. But we were living within the confines of the structure and could not disregard reality.

However, everyone must not be "tarred with the same brush." My colleagues repeatedly addressed anxious memorandums to high bodies. They named sore points: the growing tension in the Transcaucasus, the Baltic republics, and the North.

My appeal to Yu.V. Andropov in 1983, with quite an acute analysis of interethnic relations, unfortunately did not produce any consequences either. Yuriy Vladimirovich took a positive attitude to that memorandum, but others reckoned that it was better not to stir up these problems.

Insensitive Management Blamed for Strikes

PM2408145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by V. Koblyakov, wire drawer at the "Serp i Molot" Metallurgical Plant's Steel Wire Plant: "Listen to One Another: Thinking Aloud About Enhancement of the Individual, Strikes, and Sense of Duty"]

[Text] Moscow—In the past 2 years the country has been plagued by a strike virus. Karabakh and the Baltic region, the Donbass and Kuzbass, Moldavia and the Kola Peninsula, the Kurils and Baku.... You are afraid to open your newspaper—you are sure to come across the latest social "abscess" resulting from society's chronic ailments which we sought to ignore for decades. The country, reduced to despair, seemed suddenly to have thought: How could it have lived under such conditions before? And, as though hurrying to make up for past mistakes, society at once began discussing problems which previously it was afraid even to mention.

All this is perfectly natural for a normally developing organism. Particularly a young one, such as perestroyka is—with its childlike maximalism and haste, its craving for quick results, and its growing self-awareness. We scarcely have time to consider one step before we rush into the next. And, just like children unaware of what they have in their hands we often wield the big stick. Wanting to ensure our own safety we destroy everything around us.

Strikes have become just such a weapon. With astonishing ease vast labor collectives have been joining in the strike processes. People who for decades suffered under the heel of the administrative command system have attained a level of awareness of themselves as individuals. That is fine. Because true socialism is also the enhancement of the individual. But in becoming individuals we are forgetting our civic duty. We clutch at the first thing that comes to hand—strikes, stoppages, rallies.... And we refuse to understand that the benefits which we demand right now will not descend upon us like manna from heaven. Furthermore, by stopping work—for an hour, a day, a month—we are delaying the time when at last we all begin living like human beings. Each striker, whatever the reason for his protest, should remember that it is his fault that somewhere, thousands of kilometers away, a collective working steadily is being affected. Often a collective which has managed to resolve most of its social problems. A collective where there is no discord between workers and the leadership. Where people begin their shift with a sense of satisfaction. And a chain reaction of social bitterness occurs.

I do not mean to say that our plant is one of those ideal ones. But all our eight supply plants have suffered from the miners' "clearing the air." This in turn has hit the "Serp i Molot" plant. What connection is there between me and the Kuzbass miners, you might ask? Well, in August my wages will be half what they were in July. And am I alone in this? And is our plant the only one thus affected?

Please do not think that I am a strikebreaker, far removed from a sense of proletarian solidarity. I wholly support the striking miners as, I am sure, do all my comrades at work. We fully support the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic, who are protesting against antidemocratic laws which infringe their civic rights.

But though my heart supports them my mind just cannot understand their actions. After all, what is a strike? Whatever its character it is bound to be directed against someone. Against whom? Against M.S. Gorbachev or, perhaps, against me, a 35-year old wire drawer and worker? The paradox of our strikes is that they are directed in support of people like me and Gorbachev but work against us. I am sure that some people, realizing this, are simply rubbing their hands with glee. And here is another question. We know how limited the country's material resources are at present. There isn't enough to go around. You have to rob Peter to pay Paul. But is this the solution?

We are struggling against the command and administrative system but we forget that every evil has its source. Why did the miners rise up? I am sure, I feel it in my heart: It is because for years party, soviet, and trade union workers were deaf to their call and did not know or did not want to know about the people's everyday concerns. But now look: Even party members are sitting on strike committees. And what is more—they think highly of themselves for being with the people. This is cheap popularity! Where were they before, how did they view the urgent problems, why did they not lead the masses from the outset and take them along the right road? Their lack of principle is simply astonishing. They used to speak to people dismissively whereas now they beat their chests and say: We are for the people!

PRAVDA once very aptly called these people the "bureaucratic layer" obstructing the passage of ideas from society's upper echelons to its lower levels. That layer is astonishingly deaf to the people's opinion. The notorious "nomenklatura" is tenaciously clinging on to power.

All of this angers people and heats passions to boiling point. I would even put it like this: Strikes merely play into the hands of those people. This is what perestroyka has led to, they say, the only way out of the situation is the "mailed fist." And therefore, when the working man goes on strike he should really think to himself: Who gains from this? No, the strike is not the way to clarify the truth, it is merely an indication of what poor use we are making of the fruits of perestroyka.

And, first among them, democratic principles. Is it really necessary to stop work in order to replace an incompetent leader? Or to destroy cooperative stores so as to establish order in the cooperative system? After all, everything is in our hands now.

Furthermore, what I am saying about everyone else applies to me, too. For years now in the shop where I work I have been breathing air which makes me see spots before the eyes at the end of the shift. I asked the mechanic to do something and he answered: "If I fit an extractor for you the others will ask for them. I retire in 6 months' time, why should I bother with all of you?" The mechanic has retired now and I feel uncomfortable about insisting. That is what our life is like. We feel "uncomfortable" about holding back our legitimate 30 percent profit which we pay to the ministry for reasons unknown to us. We feel "uncomfortable" about throwing out half of our parasitical managers. We feel "uncomfortable" about replacing an arrogant lout with a skilled worker.

Here is something even more surprising about people. If you speak out at a meeting they will say: "Upstart!" It's the workers themselves who say it—that is what's offensive. And a vast multitude of these "trifles" accumulate over the years. They gnaw at your heart constantly until they form a painful wound. They urge us, they almost demand of us these days: Take power into your own hands! But none of us thinks that these words apply to us.

Therefore, I believe that both the leadership and the workers themselves are to blame for the current strikes. In present-day conditions any collective deserves the leader it gets. As he deserves his rayon or oblast leadership. Because in the past 4 years we have been able to learn how to elect to the upper echelons those people for whom the interests of their territory are more than just words.

I believe that the strikes will not end in our country until we learn how to listen to one another and to respect one another. Just look at what is going on. They went and closed the canteen in our shop on the night and evening shifts. They didn't consult people, they enlisted the support of the labor collective council, which consists almost entirely of managerial staff. Once again you get problems, frayed nerves, and a shopwide emergency. The workers' opinion is quite understandable: These engineering and technical staff are only thinking of themselves. Or take our trade union activists. What kind of defenders of working class interests are they? They don't dare oppose the administration. Who is to blame, you ask? True, we ourselves are to blame—we elected those people. As a result problems go unresolved, people are treated with indifference, and nothing but anger builds up in people's hearts.

I shall give you my own example. Last year at work my wife received a family pass for a vacation in the south. For the first time in 17 years' work I decided to take a proper vacation. The shop chief was horrified: "Your vacation is scheduled for August and you want to go in July." I had to go to the director. I used to be a sportsman, I should have strong nerves, yet there I was trembling with rage. And I was full of gratitude. But here's true "gratitude" for you. Callousness, the division into "them" and "us," arrogance from the leadership and other party and trade union workers, sometimes their absolute inability to talk to people—that is the "spark" which ignites the fire of strikes.

The Russian man has a surprising characteristic: Do things your way but show him "respect," explain things to him, consult with him. What happens sometimes? Even the Supreme Soviet doesn't consider it necessary to consult with us. And it makes decisions which, you can predict, will cause social upheavals. Take, for example, the resolution on the taxation of state enterprises' labor remuneration funds. In accordance with that resolution, as is well known, every ruble of pay above the 3 percent annual growth is liable to R3 tax. Probably this is right for those enterprises where wages are already high. In our case, though, pay is R258 a month. Even though we fulfilled the 5-year plan target for labor productivity growth last year and earned R3.5 million in above-plan profit. In the first half of 1989 alone the commodity output volume rose by 8.1 percent, labor productivity rose by 13 percent, and consumer goods production was up by 24 percent compared with the same period last year.

Of course the labor remuneration fund increased by 14.9 percent. We maintained the normative ratio—0.68. But do we subsequently have to stop our socioeconomic development? We are working using the second model of economic accountability and we provided additional payment for evening and night shift work and an effective system for encouraging the saving of resources. For all this we needed a wages fund of R26 million, R4 million more than this year. But on that we must pay almost R10 million in tax.

People tell us—produce goods. But they don't reduce the state order. And that is understandable: Our goods are in great demand among electronics and defense workers. There is no room to build extra capacity—the plant is virtually in the center of Moscow. What are we to do? How can we go on living and working like this? Where is the promised independence?

Here is the surprising thing: No one consulted our leaders, the resolution was adopted for everyone indiscriminately. Is it any wonder that when our plant's leaders adopt a decision they by no means always deem it necessary to explain things to the working man. Such was the custom—from the very top down. Is it not this above all which workers are combating—being treated as "cogs" in "wheels"? Wherever it may be—in the economy, politics, or the environment.

Philosopher Ponders 'Self-Determination' Concept

PM2308135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by A. Zharnikov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Self-Determination Mechanism: We Discuss the CPSU Draft Platform on the Nationalities Question"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A one-dimensional understanding of the self-determination of the nations has become ingrained in the average mind, and not only there. That understanding is applied, as a rule, only to the state aspect and sometimes generally to a single right—the right of secession [otdeleniye]. For that reason it is often identified with state sovereignty, which is not far from the idea of a confederation of states.

I think that the self-determination of the nations is a phenomenon which, in its content, has many facets and aspects. They are primarily the right to the maximum satisfaction of all national needs and requirements: in the sphere of culture, customs, and of course, state structure. In modern parlance, **this is nothing other than self-management in the sphere of national relations.** Self-management exercised within the framework of a single, all-union state.

Now, as is well known, in some republics, particularly the Baltic ones, much is being said and done to introduce republic economic accountability [khozraschet], republic citizenship, the state language, and even their own currency.

Of course there is a subject for discussion here: Some of the proposals that have been expressed are contentious but there are those, too, which belong to a general desire to restore democratic principles in the sphere of national life. Why, for example, should republic khozraschet not be regarded as the material content which is currently lacking from the principle of the self-determination of nations?

But the mechanisms for the protection of national interests and values cannot be standardized: The existence of general features must not preclude their diversity. For some peoples regional and republic khozraschet may play the role of such a mechanism. For others, particularly the minor or so-called "nonindigenous" ones, different mechanisms are needed.

People may object: The right to self-determination is a reality for a specific people when it has some form of national-state or administrative structure. Almost half of the country's peoples do not have them today. On what real basis will national communities exercise self-management principles? Indeed, there is a problem. But the possibility of creating new national-state units in the country has never been precluded and is not now, either. It is a different matter that some peoples are now scattered across the country or are simply small in number. What happens to them?

The proposal in the CPSU platform to create for peoples scattered across the country national regions in places where there is a high concentration of them seems realistic. **National soviets will be entirely suitable for peoples which are not numerous but live in concentrated groups.** [Passage omitted]

We are now experiencing the painful process of psychological restructuring in the interethnic sphere as well. The "big brother" stereotype, which was long perceived as natural and normal, has exhausted its positive potential.

The concept of equal among equals has now assumed its full importance. In these conditions the "sins" of the command-administrative system have begun to be linked in the average mind with "big brother," that is, to be applied to the Russian people. But there is another characteristic of the present moment. In some sections of both the Russian and the non-Russian population it is proving hard to break away from the old stereotype and, furthermore, there are forces which still seek to build interethnic relations on the principles of joint subordination [sopodchineniye]. In the one instance they sincerely believe that there is no other way to live, while in the other they deliberately exploit past deviations from the Leninist principle of self-determination and try to portray "big brother" as the culprit.

Is it at all possible to speak about "guilty nations"? Of course not. The "big brother" stereotype, engendered by the command-administrative system, surely caused the greatest harm to the Russian people themselves. Their selfless contribution to the development of the USSR has been cynically exploited. The persistent emphasis on that contribution, which became a mandatory official ritual, was bound to cause irritation at local level. But at that time the Russian people themselves were living in conditions more unpleasant than those that many others enjoyed: For example, just look at the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone. It is thus no coincidence that the CPSU platform attaches special attention to improving the national-state structure of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the mechanism of the national self-determination of all the peoples, including the Russian people, living on the republic's territory.

The restoration of the Leninist principle of national equality of rights and self-determination is the only possible way to remove the tensions which have occurred and ensure the further development of an integrated multinational country.

Grassroots Party Bodies Urged to Reform

PM2908110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Faith in Primary Party Organizations Will Be Vindicated by Their Businesslike Conduct During the Report and Election Campaign"]

[Text] The PRAVDA mailbag includes many letters from miners about their socioeconomic situation which has deteriorated from year to year. The miners justly blame not only the ministry and central departments for the lag in the social sphere, but also the leaders of local party, soviet, and economic organs whose sluggishness and shortsightedness has resulted in strikes breaking out.

As is known, complex problems have accumulated also in other sectors—railroad transport, the agro-industrial complex, and the petroleum and gas industry, for instance... In an effort to break out of the economic impasse as quickly as possible, we are naturally all trying to work out who is to blame for specific omissions. There are different, sometimes mutually exclusive viewpoints on this score. However, let us put the question point-blank: Which one of us will dare, with his hand on his heart, to claim that he has always done everything possible to ensure a radical rectification of the situation?

Life is also addressing a serious reproach to the millions of communists. After all, party groups and shop and primary party organizations exist in virtually every labor collective. Who, if not they, should set the tone in the struggle against various kinds of negative phenomena?

Primary party organizations are closer than anyone to the working people and they are thoroughly familiar with their pressing needs and requirements. Cadre renewal, the investigation of conflicts and labor disputes arising in collectives, and ultimately the working people's mood—all this and much else must be constantly in the field of vision of primary party organizations. They have no right to remain "observers" when passions are seething around them.

"Unfortunately, even now, during the crucial stage of perestroyka, many primary party organizations are still not deeply aware of the danger inherent in the situation," A. Rogochiy, an architect from Dnepropetrovsk, writes to PRAVDA. "They have still not assumed a militant stance. Frequently, through inertia, they are reduced to 'echoing' economic managers."

Similar views are expressed in many letters received by PRAVDA. The recent CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Reports and Elections in Party Organizations in 1989" also states that the party has come under criticism for foot-dragging in updating work forms and methods.

The reports and elections in primary party organizations with fewer than 15 CPSU members, and plenums and conferences including party committee reports are called upon to play an important role in the development of communists' social activeness. It is important to ensure at the report and election meetings an atmosphere of genuine glasnost and comradely debate, accurate analysis of achievements and failures, and mutual exactingness. After all, the working people's faith in the party and every party organization is augmented by communists' principledness and the firmness of their ideological and philosophical principles.

Naturally, this does not mean that a communist cannot at a meeting share his doubts and fears concerning intraparty questions which are beyond the sphere of competence of his party organization. On the contrary, a frank analysis at "grassroot level" of the functions and place of the CPSU in the political system, its ties with social organizations, including informal social organizations, and a quest for new forms of work will serve a consolidation of forces and unity of action.

Judging by letters and telephone calls to the editorial board, many communists are pained by the criticism leveled at the party, and are trying to work out how to restore the prestige of elective organs and party officials which has been dented in some places. During the report meetings, readers believe, a principled assessment should be made of those who are introducing confusion into people's minds and have compromised the party by their irresponsible actions, by seeking the limelight, by demagoguery, and nationalist attacks.

Nor can communists tolerate cadre leap-frogging or instances of speculation, corruption, and mismanagement. "At the 'Tebukneft' petroleum and gas extraction administration the switch to economic accountability has been under discussion for a long time," V. Kuklin from Nizhniy Odes settlement, Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, writes. "But this is nothing but fine words. Machinations and overreporting continue. Oil workers are paying millions of rubles for sinking new wells while existing ones are moth-balled. Many wells yield nothing... Isn't this not a topic for discussion at party group meetings? Sadly the communists are keeping silent, afraid of invoking the management's anger."

Such situations are quite widespread. The restructuring of party work in the grassroots components begins with increased responsibility for every communist, and in particular the members of the elected aktiv. Unfortunately by no means all the people in whom comrades have put their trust in the past have proved real fighters and organizers capable of taking the initiative.

"The renewal of cadres must be based exclusively on the utilization of enterprising people who enjoy deserved respect," L. Datsenko, party committee secretary on the "Ukraina" collective farm [kolkhoz] in Kirovograd Oblast believes. "Promoting certain people and removing others to create the impression of cadre changes is wrong. It would be useful if communists were judged at meetings according to their actions. On our kolkhoz, for instance, no one would dream of replacing Petr Vlasovich Muntyan, editor of the kolkhoz wall newspaper "Voice of the Grain Grower" and the satirical notice board "Pepper," who has discharged his main party mission with diligence for the past 40 years."

A well-weighed approach to the formation of the primary party organizations' elective aktiv is needed. Many people still naively believe that party policy is made only in the "upper echelons." No, it is also formulated and—even more important—implemented directly at local level, in the primary party organizations. And wherever they constantly strive to improve people's lives and raise acute problems, enforcing political methods of leadership in practice, there the communists' prestige is truly high.

Every party group and every primary party organization must find its place in perestroyka. May their reports and elections prove not just another test of maturity but a laboratory of creative and political thought in the course of the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress.

Property Thefts Account for Half of USSR Crimes

PM2108130589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS Correspondent report: "Crime Rate Still Rising"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—Regrettably the state of the struggle against crime remains unsatisfactory. USSR Internal Affairs Ministry statistics demonstrate that in the first 7 months of this year virtually all categories of crime have increased. [passage omitted]

There have been more than 10,000 crimes related to drugs and other powerful substances. Drug addicts committed 1,456 offences requiring criminal investigation. People have spoken with alarm about the increase in street crime. Across the country as a whole the number of street crimes and crimes committed in other public places has risen by 82.4 percent.

The theft of citizens' private property constitutes more than half of all crimes. This year 2,427 cases of racketeering have come to light and 1,532 people have been prosecuted. In the economic sphere the embezzlement of state or public property is the most widespread. [Passage omitted]

Newspaper Describes Party Central Committee Work

PM2208082589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] The 8th issue of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS reports on the work of the party Central Committee in July 1989, and contains the Politburo resolution "On the work of party organizations to strengthen their ranks and renew the membership of the CPSU in conditions of the deepening of perestroyka and political reform" and other resolutions.

M.S. Gorbachev's 11 July conversation with workers at the Leningrad "Izhorskiy Zavod" Association is published under the new rubric "Transcripts, Records of Conversations, Reports."

The experience of cooperating with foreign countries acquired in the process of restructuring foreign economic ties is analyzed in the notes of the CPSU Central Committee International Policy Commission. "Working actively to strengthen party ranks" is the heading under which a report about the session of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Policy Commission is published.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee studied the work of communist leaders in Vladimir Oblast in accelerating housing construction and, together with the Central Committee General Department, discovered shortcomings and lapses in work concerning letters and appeals from citizens in the Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The report about the work of the Party Control Committee in July covers this and other topical issues.

The documents of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission on the further study of materials connected with repression in the period of the 30's, 40's and early 50's deal with the so-called Anti-Soviet United Trotskiyite-Zinovyevite Center. Confidential letters are published from the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) dated 18 January 1935 and 29 July 1936.

Materials in the "News and Chronicle" section deal with the work of the political organs of the Soviet Army and Navy under the leadership of the primary party organizations, the experience of Rostov CPSU Oblast Committee in organizing patronage aid to the countryside, elections, and the ratification of party appointments.

The reader can find out about Soviet-Yugoslav consultations on questions of interethnic relations in material under the rubric "CPSU International Links." This includes a chronicle of the talks, meetings, and conversations held in July and features biographical information about G. Farakos, general secretary of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee, and M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee.

At the request of readers, the journal gives detailed answers to the questions: "From what year was Lenin a member of the party?" and "Which people were elected secretaries of the party Central Committee in 1917-1922?"

The section "CPSU Central Committee Mail" features letters from workers on certain questions of implementing radical economic reforms, and the experience of work to strengthen legislation and law and order in Gorkiy Oblast.

An account of the work of the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) is the main feature in the issue's archive material. A transcript is published of G.Ye. Zinovyev's speech at a meeting of the Petrograd party organization members on 28 March 1919. The backdrop to collectivization is shown in two letters from communists sent in 1927 to Central Committee Politburo members and to I.V. Stalin. The issue ends with publication of the minutes of a session of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Sochi City Committee Bureau dated 16 May 1935, which were kept in Krasnodar Kray Party Committee archives, which heard a creative report from the writer Nikolay Ostrovskiy.

Economic

Analyst on Government Anti-Inflation Program

LD2908195589 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—By TASS News Analyst Boris Grishchenko:

Inflation which only recently was officially recognised in the Soviet Union has now become the main concern of the Soviet Government which takes resolute measures to normalise the financial system.

For the first time over a long period the country has received a package of proposals the implementation of which, in expert opinion, will make it possible to substantially improve the state of affairs in the coming two or three years.

It is a question of concentrating efforts on producing goods which are in short supply on the domestic market. Only 200 out of 1,200 types of goods, which constitute the standard 'consumer goods basket' in the Soviet Union, are now outside the framework of shortage.

The amendments introduced by the Soviet Parliament to the USSR Law on the State Enterprise in August are to stimulate enterprises to operate more actively on the market.

While granting greater economic independence to factories and firms, the law, however, did not specify priority approaches to the problem of increasing the mass of commodities. The amendments took this into account. From now on the production of goods and services are the only possibility for the enterprise to avoid progressive taxation on wage fund.

It is now much more beneficial to produce furniture, footwear and household electronic goods than machine-tools or machines. This group of commodities also includes technical facilities for fitting out shops, cafes, workshops, clothing, knitwear and shoe-making enterprises.

An additional factor, a new one to the USSR, for solving this acute social problem has been brought into play. A cut in the armed forces has made it possible to convert a number of defence plants to civilian uses.

The conversion of tens of defence plants which have available the most advanced technology has already had an effect on the production of television sets, tape recorders, refrigerators and a number of other types of sophisticted household equipment.

However, economists believe, conversion develops at a pace which is not rapid enough so far. In this connection a national programme for a transition of a large group of defence plants and companies to the production of new types of goods will be drawn up by the end of this year.

The expansion of the economic rights of producers signifies their access to the foreign market. Twelve recently established public associations are called upon to render help in this respect to factories which as a rule have no such experience.

Exporters have been granted the right to use a quarter of excess-of-the-plan currency revenue for the purchase of food, clothes, footwear and household equipment abroad.

The package of measures to saturate the domestic market with goods and services has been adopted at the most complex period the country's financial and lending system is living through.

The rate of wage increase is twice as high as that of rise in labour productivity. The increase in average earnings in industry and agriculture in the past half-year equalled that achieved over the entire previous five-year plan period.

It is possible to stop or if only substantially to slow down inflationary processes only resultant of restoring balance on the domestic market. The 120-billion-rouble deficit of the Soviet budget will be reduced by half by the beginning of the next five-year plan period (1991), economists believe.

Defense Conversion 'Sometimes Resented'

LD3008064289 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Leningrad August 30 TASS—The Leningrad-based Admiralty Shipyard, which until recently built only warships, is to begin work on a Nautilus excursion submarine as part of the Soviet drive to convert defence industries to civilian production.

But the changes in product lines are sometimes resented by workers on the shopfloor.

"We have always been against war, but when conversion started, our family budgets began to suffer," Sergey Tselishchev, a middle manager at the shipyard, told TASS.

"Workers and technicians have been earning less after the switch over to producing cheaper equipment for grain elevators and flour mills.

"Besides, many workers need to be retrained and this doesn't make them any more enthusiastic," he said.

But there is no alternative to conversion and the shipyard plans to begin building ecologically safe, double-hull tankers and floating fishing factories.

The Soviet ship-building industry in general is to master the manufacture of over 900 new kinds of product under the conversion programme, ranging from ocean-going merchant ships to automatic machines producing hot dogs.

Agricultural

Nikonov Visit to Penza Oblast Farms Reported

PM3008110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Rational Use of Local Resources"]

[Text] Penza, 26 Aug—The working visit to Penza Oblast by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, lasted 2 days.

He began his acquaintance with the oblast's crop farmers and livestock raising farms with an inspection of corn plantations at the "Ardymskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz]. The ripened crops extended to the horizon in a high densely-packed wall. This area has become the all-Russian school for cultivating feed corn. In terms of feed units 60-65 quintals per hectare are obtained here.

V.P. Nikonov and V.P. Shumilin, head agronomist at the sovkhoz, had a businesslike and interested discussion. Their entourage took part in it.

"If everyone had this kind of corn, the increased milk yields per cow would total 1,000 kg throughout the country," the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out.

He was interested in familiarizing himself with the seed drill manufactured by local machine operators which ensures optimum seeding in the field. Some 17,000 hectares of land here are used to try out the technology for cultivating 72 Soviet and foreign hybrids. Some 25 farms in Penza Oblast are involved in this production system. One being the "Dertevskiy" Sovkhoz. A large livestock raising complex for fattening and rearing young cattle was commissioned here 2 years ago. It now houses 16,000 head of livestock. The CPSU Central Committee secretary was familiarized with the enterprise where mechanization and automation have been applied most extensively.

"You still have considerable reserves," V.P. Nikonov noted during a conversation with the livestock farmers. "Beef farming in addition to dairy farming must also be substantially increased in Penza Oblast," he believes.

Not without grounds. In addition to hay, silage, and haylage the Ardymskiy experimental plant for the production of special mixed feed and reconstituted milk produces 108,000 tonnes of concentrated feed per year. In pig breeding alone these high-concentrate feeds ensure a 30-percent increase in weight. When they were introduced into the "Dertevskiy" Sovkhoz dairy herd's rations they raised the milk yield to 7,500 kg. The oblast's farms provide the population with an adequate supply of milk. The range of products manufactured from this milk must now be expanded.

"We inspected a new manufacturing workshop at 'Yelanskiy' Sovkhoz," V.P. Nikonov said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. "This workshop was installed and put into operation within 3 months. It produces 500 kg of output per day. Such a small enterprises is economically extremely beneficial. In order to make rational use of raw material resources in the localities, collective farms [kolkhozes] and sovkhozes with 200-300 cows located 50-60 km away from dairy plants can produce good food products on leasing principles. The country is faced with the task of producing a minimum of 2,000 of these workshops in 2 years and raising the 1 million tonnes of cheeses that we manufacture by another 1 million tonnes and attaining the norm of 6 kg of cheese per Soviet person per year. This work is only being developed now and the most rational path has been chosen, enabling 9 million tonnes of separated milk, which is not used for food purposes at present, to be processed into excellent produce. I spent 3 days in Saratov Oblast. This oblast has made a mighty turnaround: 20 cheese-producing workshops are being built there this year along with 80 meat processing and sausage manufacturing workshops at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Specialists are working vigorously in this area in Voronezh Oblast. But the oblast's industrial potential must be incorporated in this in order to hasten the resolution of the problem and supply processing enterprises with equipment. Every oblast can create no less than 20-30 sets of meat and milk processing equipment in 1 year," V.P. Nikonov said.

Bad Weather Affects Ulyanovsk Oblast Harvest

18240234A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by M. Belousov: "In Compressed Periods"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk, 12 August. The oblast's kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have poured more than 200,000 metric tons of grain crops into the homeland's granaries.

The farms raised a good crop. However, its harvest is taking place under conditions of difficult weather; rains are frequent. Machine operators broadly maneuver the harvest's equipment and technology.

For example, the Krupskaya Kolkhoz, in a compressed period harvested peas, winter wheat, and barley from an area of over 12,000 hectares, threshing over 27 quintals per hectare, on the average. A total of 12,000 metric tons of grain crops was sent to the Dimitrovgrad elevator. The sale of grain crops continues.

Rostov Oblast Fulfills Grain Plan

18240234B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by Yu. Maksimenko: "The State Order Has Been Fulfilled"]

[Text]**The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of Rostov Oblast sold the state 3.1 million metric tons of grain crops, and grain crops in excess of the plan continues to be realized.**

Rostov-on-Don, 12 August. The farmers of the Don have achieved great labor success. The crop was raised and harvested in compressed periods: 28.6 quintals of grain crops was threshed from each hectare; the gross harvest was 7.257 million metric tons, significantly more than in previous years.

The oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes completed fulfilling the state order, having sold 3.1 million metric tons of grain crops, including 2.8 million metric tons of valuable foodstuffs crops—winter wheat. The quality of the procured wheat has improved—over 2.4 million metric tons of high-quality wheat, or 66.4 percent of the overall procurement. Almost all of the wheat from the farms of Belokalitvinskiy, Remontnenskiy, Tatsinskiy, Millerovskiy, Zavetinskiy, Dubovskiy, Orlovskiy, and Zimovnikovskiy rayons is in the hardy and valuable categories, with 100 percent of the grain crops from Kagalnitskiy Rayon falling in those categories.

The farmers greeted the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers on stimulating the sale of high-quality grain crops, legumes and oil seed to the state for 1989-1990 with great incentive by means of hard currency payment. On the Don, many farms sell grain crops in excess of the state order on the level of that of the average of the 11th 5-year plan. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Zavetinskiy, Zimovnikovskiy, Dubovskiy, Remontnenskiy, Kamenskiy, Tarasovskiy and other rayons sent the state large consignments of hardy and valuable wheat under such conditions for the acquisition of construction materials, equipment, and mixed feed.

This year, the collectives at the elevators and grain-receiving points, many drivers of the enterprises of Rostov, Taganrog, Shakht, Novocherkassk, and other cities, the railroad workers of the Rostov and Salskiy divisions of the Northern Caucasus Railroad and transportation workers of the river steamships have all worked on the grain crop procurements and transport with great productivity.

Vinnitsa Oblast Reaches Million Mark

18240234C Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 1

[TASS report: "There Are One Million Tons"]

[Text] Vinnitsa, 17 August (TASS). The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of Vinnitsa Oblast sold the state one million metric tons of grain crop.

The introduction of intensive technology of wheat cultivation, a scientifically based system of cultivating other crops, the farms' transition to complete economic accountability and self-financing, and leasing forms of labor organization have been conducive to this success. On the average, 38.5 quintals were gathered from each hectare, including 46 quintals of wheat.

The oblast overfulfilled the plan for realization of valuable grades. Having laid seed in storage, the grain crop harvesters are creating insurance and feed funds. The shipment of grain crop to state granaries continues.

Kursk Oblast Meets Grain Plan

18240234D Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by A. Trubnikov: "The State Order Has Been Fulfilled"]

[Text] Kursk, 17 August. The oblast's kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have fulfilled the state order for the sale of grain crop to the state. A total of 930,000 metric tons of grain crop have reached the elevators.

Many farms continue the delivery at increased prices and as return sale for machines and materials in short supply. The greatest quantity of grain crops in excess of the plan was loaded from Korenevskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Zheleznogorskiy, and Sudzhanskiy rayons.

Owing to the introduction of intensive technology, and collective and leasing systems, the Kursk farmers gathered the biggest grain crop—27.4 quintals per hectare. The farms of Glushkovskiy and Belovskiy rayons got 35.7-36 quintals per hectare.

Nikolayev Oblast Achieves 'Heroic Feat'

18240234E Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by A. Soldatskiy: "The Harvest Has Named Its Heroes"]

[Text] The harvest season has resounded through the oblast's fields; the state order has been fulfilled.

The current season has proven difficult. Thus it is all the more joyous to calculate the results. About 34.4 quintals of grain crops have been received from each hectare, including 39.4 quintals of winter grain crops.

Many combine assemblies have had high results. But the threshing record is held by combine operators V. Ivanichev and S. Pavlunya, who worked in the fields of the Shevchenko Kolkhoz [collective farm] and threshed over 2,000 tons of grain crops there.

Kharkov Oblast Delivers Million Tons

18240234F Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 19 Aug 89 p 1

[TASS report: "Grain to the People"]

[Text] Kharkov, 18 August (TASS). The farms of Kharkov Oblast sold the state one million metric tons of early grain crops. There were 719,000 metric tons of hardy wheat alone in this quantity, exceeding the planned amount by a factor of 2.5. On the average, 37.5 quintals were threshed from each hectare here. The wheat fields were especially generous: They yielded 43 quintals per hectare.

The grain crop harvesters of Shevchenkovskiy, Borovskiy, Kulyanskiy, and Kergichevskiy rayons had even better indicators. The bold introduction of intensive technologies, economic management methods, and broad use of the "Don-1500" combine were conducive to success. Seed and other stockpiles have been completely laid in.

Lipetsk Oblast Delivers Despite Weather

18240234G Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 19 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by unspecified SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent: "Grain To The People"]

[Text] Lipetsk, 18 August. Torrential rains and hurricane-force winds created more than a few difficulties for the oblast's grain crops harvesters, seriously complicating the current year's harvest situation. Despite this, the farmers managed to meet the sale of grain crops to the state at a volume of 601,000 metric tons. Over 86 percent of the grain crops received was valuable. The state order for rye delivery was overfulfilled.

Stavropol Kray Delivery Makes Progress

18240234H Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 20 Aug 89 p 1

[TASS report: "To The Homeland's Granaries"]

[Text] Stavropol, 19 August (TASS). In the fields of the Stavropol steppes, the massive grain crop harvest is being completed. More than one-quarter million metric tons of grain crops above the annual plan came to the elevators and grain crops receiving points from the kray's kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. The sale of grain crops to the state continues.

With a state order of 121,000 metric tons, the harvesters of Budeinskiy Rayon have already laid 191,000 metric tons of grain crops in the state's granaries. The farms of Stepnovskiy, Turkmenskiy, Apanasenkovskiy, Kurskiy, and a number of other rayons have also exceeded the plan by a factor of somewhat over 1.5. It is characteristic that they are all located in zones with far from the most favorable natural conditions—all around is the semi-desert Caspian area. The high level of farm culture and the assimilation of economic management methods helped in overcoming the difficulties. For example, the farmers of Apanasenkovskiy Rayon transferred almost all tilled area to economically accountable leasing collectives. As a result, during the last harvest, the state plan for sale of grain crops to the state was overfulfilled by 34,000 metric tons, and in the current season, by somewhat over 50,000 metric tons.

However, the kray's successes, which have become a tradition, have been overshadowed by those who are not in step with elementary equipment and labor discipline. Weighty grain crop heads were yielded in the Andropovskiy Rayon. But here they managed to fulfill the state order for grain crop harvest by less than one-third; complications arose with procuring feed, private plots were overworked. Due to the fact that the harvest was extended over almost 2 months, a fair portion of the grain crops fell on the roots and germinated.

Of course, threshing is not easy on the high-salt soil produced by the bad weather seen during the harvest season. But the weather failed to coddle not only the Andropovskiy Rayon farmers, and they were not the only ones with high-salt soil. That means that poor management is to blame for the losses.

Military

Gorbachev Signs Artillery Marshal's Obituary

LD2908153689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1217 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 29 Aug. (TASS)—Marshal of Artillery Konstantin Kazakov, an eminent Soviet military chief, died on 25 August following a grave and lengthy illness. The obituary, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet party and state leaders and military chiefs, notes that "a true son of the Soviet people who dedicated his life to selfless service of the homeland and to strengthening its defense capability" had departed this life.

Kazakov was born in 1902. [passage omitted]

Drunken Soldiers in Saratov Oblast Street Fight

PM3008105589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[O. Bedula report: "In a Drunken Haze. Alarm Signal"]

[Text] There was a fight 22 August in the environs of Volsk city between local inhabitants and servicemen from a company commanded by Major V. Stepanchenko called up from the reserve and assigned to harvest work. Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Bedula had a telephone conversation with Colonel V. Ivanov, head of the political department of the Volsk Higher Military Rear Services School, and asked him to comment on what happened.

"Major V. Stepanchenko's company had been carrying out the harvest in Khvalinskiy Rayon in Saratov Oblast. On 22 August a subunit arrived at the embarkation station near Volsk. Unfortunately, neither we nor the local authorities had been told about this in time by the battalion command or the leaders of the operations group. So the men were actually left to their own devices in the forest. One of them got hold of some alcohol.... Soon after, an incident occurred which then sparked off another one. Private F. Yunusov's vehicle was stopped in the road by a crowd of young civilians. When the soldier opened the cabin door, someone stabbed him in the stomach.

"Then the soldiers, stimulated by the alcohol, rushed to avenge their comrade. The situation was not relieved by the interception of several militia details. And then we were forced to send in reinforced cadet patrols.

"Private A. Andreyevskiy, the driver, was wounded in the fight. The garrison prosecutor's office is carrying out an investigation into the incident.

"But some conclusions can be drawn already. There is an extremely low level of discipline in the company in question.

"It is not known why, but when the company was loading into the troop train, and this is always a crucial moment in the activity of harvesting subunits, neither Colonel I. Zhil, commander of the battalion, nor operations group representatives were at the station.

"It is unpleasant to report on such an event, especially now, when hundreds of servicemen are working selflessly in reaping the harvest, helping the agricultural workers. But this means that it is all the more important to make such a scandalous incident public. In order to take measures to prevent such a thing from happening again, and so that no one gets in the habit of defaming the honor of a soldier."

3 Arrested for Turkestan Killings, Gun Theft

PM3008100189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR KGB"]

[Text] It happened in the middle of the night of 13 August 1989 in a military unit in the Turkestan Military District. Two sentries guarding a military installation were attacked by robbers. The servicemen died as a result of the numerous knife wounds they received, while the criminals escaped, having seized 2 assault rifles and 3 magazines with 90 rounds.

The relevant subunits at state security and internal affairs organs were tasked with implementing expeditious investigation measures to discover the criminals. As a result the military counterintelligence officers together with Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs organs established the identity of the persons who had attacked the sentries 19 August. They were three inhabitants of Tashkent. They have been arrested by Prosecutor's Office organs. During a search of one of their apartments the investigators discovered and removed the assault rifles and rounds taken from the sentries, as well as other munitions. Under interrogation the detainees stated that they had intended to use the weapons to carry out other crimes, specifically racketeering.

The investigation into the crime continues.